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Contents

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ALABAMA'S LAND GRANT COLLEGE 5
WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

DR. JEROME COCHRAN, YELLOW FEVER FIGHTER 21
ROBERT PARTIN

THE ALABAMA PRESBYTERIAN AND HIS SLAVE, 1830-1864 40
GEORGE C. WHATLEY, III

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS 52

BOOK REVIEWS 68

NEWS AND NOTICES 76

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The Establishment of Alabama's Land Grant College

By WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

THE MORRILL ACT, passed by Congress July 2, 1862, was the most significant nation-wide educational legislation ever enacted in the United States. It appropriated to every state applying within five years thirty thousand acres of public land or land scrip for each senator and representative in Congress for the purpose of establishing a college "where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."[1] In 1866 a subsequent act was passed, extending the application time-limit and removing the restrictions which had affected the eleven former Confederate States.[2]

Alabama's congressional delegation in 1860 had consisted of six representatives and two senators, thus entitling the state to 240,000 acres of land. In February, 1867 the legislature passed an act, accepting the terms of the Morrill Act and authorizing Governor Robert M. Patton to take the necessary steps to secure the benefits. To aid him in his efforts a $500 appropriation bill was also passed into law.[3]

1 U. S. *Stat.*, XII, 503-505.
2 *Ibid.*, XIV, 208-209. "G" wrote the Montgomery *Advertiser*, Nov. 23, 1866, urging that Alabama move fast to take advantage of the act.
3 Alabama *Acts*, 1866-1867, 426.

The problems of Reconstruction in Alabama, however, were such that reopening schools closed by the war and keeping open those that had managed to survive precluded any immediate action in regard to the Morrill Act. An occasional newspaper urged the state to act,[4] but no implementation of the 1867 legislation was made until February, 1871. An act of this date accepted Alabama's share in land scrip and authorized Governor Robert B. Lindsay to receive it. Sale of the scrip was entrusted to a Board of Commissioners and proceeds were to be invested in United States or state stocks, yielding not less than 5 per cent. Sales were to be made at not less than 60¢ an acre and the investments were to constitute a perpetual fund, with the capital remaining undiminished. All monies received were to be deposited as a special trust fund in the state treasury.[5]

While these acts were the necessary first steps, several problems remained to be solved. The people of Alabama had to be convinced that an agricultural and mechanical college was needed, before they could be expected to support its establishment. Moreover, there was the large and complicated issue of selecting a site for the college. First, there was a geographical aspect. Because the institution would serve a state-wide function, it was important that it should be reasonably accessible to a large number of people. Aspirants realized that the site chosen would automatically acquire considerable prestige. The revenue that local merchants would receive from the students and faculty was additional incentive for a town's desiring the college. Finally, there was the matter of regional pride. Politically, there had long existed a rivalry between

4 See Linden *Southern Republican,* Sept. 15, 1869.

5 Alabama *Acts,* 1870-1871, 63-66. Willis Dummond, commissioner in the Department of Interior, turned over to Gov. Lindsay 1,500 certificates, representing 240,000 acres of scrip (see Dummond to Lindsay, Apr. 15, 1871, in Correspondence of Governor Robert B. Lindsay, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery).

North Alabama and South Alabama and in the contest over the site for the new school it was bitterly apparent.

Geography, prestige, local revenue, and regionalism were important points; but it was not unreasonable also to expect the state to give primary consideration to the location that could offer buildings and land that might be expeditiously and economically utilized. Before the issue was settled Alabama witnessed a campaign which for intensity of emotional appeals far exceeded most political canvasses.

The editor of the Eufaula *Bluff City Times,* pointing out the benefits of the proposed college, believed that Alabama had the soil and climate for wealth but lacked an intelligent use of these resources. To this end he quoted the Montgomery *Daily Mail:* "A thorough scientific preparation of our planters by means of an agricultural education is all that we want for this purpose, and we hope to see the day, and that not a distant one, when planting will be looked upon not simply as a thing of rude appliances and simple labor, but as a profession requiring all the knowledge and experience that the light of science can throw around it."[6] The Montgomery *Advertiser* printed an exchange between two correspondents, "Arator" and "Literatus," over the proposed school. The last word in this encounter came from "Literatus." "Arator," he explained, had erroneously assumed that the college's primary aim would be to train students as agricultural laborers in the field. "It seems to me," wrote "Literatus," "that the design of Congress . . . was to provide instruction in the *science* of agriculture and not in the art of plowing; and upon this basis, I would suggest, Agricultural Colleges *are* conducted. They are, or should be, institutions, where sciences are taught, and not fields for manual labor."[7]

An unnamed writer, identified only as "one of the most

[6] Feb. 23, 1871.
[7] Nov. 28, 30, Dec. 2, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 1871.

thoughtful, experienced, and scientific men in the State," set forth his ideas on the theoretical basis of the school. Classical and literary training had their place, but did not Alabama also need an institution chiefly devoted to scientific training? The writer suggested a faculty of six to teach agricultural and mineral chemistry, mathematics and applied mechanics, theory and practice of improved agriculture, civil engineering, surveying and minerology, and military instruction. "The application of science," he concluded, "is so extensive in almost all the industrial pursuits of life that a practical knowledge of the exact sciences has become almost a necessity if we are to keep pace with the civilization of the age and I trust the Directors of the Agricultural and Mechanical College will give this subject their thoughtful attention."[8]

During the first years after the Civil War the state's economic, political, and social conditions were far from being conducive to educational advancement. But by the 1870's Alabamians had accepted the idea that a revolutionized society contending with depression and attempting to adjust to Reconstruction would be benefited by a technical college. Partisan politics were forgotten as a leading Republican newspaper, the *Alabama State Journal* (Montgomery), urged the establishment of the school.[9] Noah B. Cloud, a prominent Republican and former agricultural editor, was an ardent advocate of the institution.[10]

With the proper climate of opinion and the appropriate legislation, there now remained the selection of the actual site. Three cities became the chief contenders—Tuscaloosa, Florence, and Auburn. Talladega was briefly considered as appeals were issued pointing out the "untold benefits resulting

8 *Ibid.*, March 19, 1872.
9 Feb. 9, 1872.
10 Weymouth T. Jordan, *Ante-Bellum Alabama Town and Country* (Tallahassee, 1957), 108.

from the location of the Agricultural College at this place."[11] But Talladega had no buildings or equipment to offer the state and, as a result, it was not major contender.[12]

Tuscaloosa, the home of the University of Alabama, had a strong claim. The Morrill Act did not permit any of the funds derived from the act to be appropriated for building purposes. The state had to provide the buildings and, inasmuch as such structures were already present at Tuscaloosa, it was pointed out that the state would be saved the expense of erecting separate buildings elsewhere.[13] One supporter of Tuscaloosa as the "most eminently proper place" dismissed other contenders as being merely interested in the "locality" of the school, or even worse, the denominational aspects of the matter. He hoped that such a "miserable sentiment" would not affect the state legislature and stated, "In conclusion, we appeal to the *Alumni* of the University everywhere to come to the aid of their *Alma Mater* in this crisis of her history, and see that her interests are not forfeited for the want of a proper presentation of her case."[14] The Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor,* claiming impartiality, advanced the claims of Tuscaloosa because the city had a healthy climate, was easily accessible to most people, and possessed an alert and moral citizenry. "We have no interest in its location," wrote the editor, "further than as an Alabamian, we desire it placed where most good will result to the rising generation, and where the appropriation will bring the greatest yield to the people in general."[15] While the legislature was debating the merits of the various sites, the university sponsored a tour of its cadets to Mont-

11 Talladega *Our Mountain Home,* Jan. 31, 1872.
12 Talladega *Alabama Reporter,* Jan. 16, 1872.
13 Union Springs *Bullock County Times,* Feb. 23, 1871, quoting Montgomery *Daily Mail.*
14 Carrollton *West Alabamian,* Dec. 27, 1871.
15 Dec. 20, 1871, quoting the Selma *Times.*

gomery. This action prompted charges of improper lobbying activities.[16]

Florence had a highly vocal group of supporters. Florence Wesleyan University, a Methodist college established there in the mid-1850's,[17] had been eeking out a precarious existence since the Civil War. At an 1871 session of the North Alabama Conference a committee was appointed and given plenary powers over the school. After a conference with the Board of Trustees, the committee members decided to offer the school to the state to be used as the agricultural and mechanical college. School property worth an estimated $50,000 was tendered the legislature by former Governor Patton and others who made a special trip to Montgomery to further the interests of Florence.[18] Supporters of other sites were quick to point out that Florence was geographically unsuited to serve the interests of the entire state.[19]

When the House of Representatives set up a committee to visit the various proposed sites and determine the most likely location, the Lauderdale County Commissioners Court voted to donate a hundred acres of land for an agricultural experimental farm, provided the college were located at Florence.[20] The *Lauderdale Times* observed that a governor from North Alabama had borrowed money to rebuild the University of Alabama; that North Alabama had sent many students to Tuscaloosa and had never failed to give the institution favorable publicity. But, the journal added, the university should not now seek the agricultural college, which was not intended to

16 Selma *Southern Argus,* Feb. 9, 1872. This paper later apologized and announced its certainty that "the faculty intended nothing improper." The retraction came as the result of protests from the Tuscaloosa *Times* (*ibid.,* Feb. 23, 1872).

17 This school had originally been LaGrange College until part of the institution was moved to Florence in 1855 (see Minnie Clare Boyd, *Alabama in the Fifties,* New York, 1931, 146).

18 Florence *Lauderdale Times,* Dec. 12, 1871.

19 Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor,* Dec. 20, 1871.

20 Florence *Lauderdale Times,* Dec. 19, 26, 1871.

become an accessory or a branch of any institution, in order to build up its own fortunes.[21] "We demand a portion of the great State loaf which is being kneaded at Montgomery, and which busy hands, sometimes alas! unscrupulous and grasping, are breaking, dividing, and carrying away, East, West, South, everywhere, save to North Alabama, where, surely, a title to a part may justly be maintained."[22]

Located in newly-created Lee County, Auburn was the third town in the contest to secure the proposed college. The East Alabama Male College, a Methodist institution, had been in operation there since 1859, except for the years 1862-1866. After the war a lack of funds had all but closed its doors. Indeed, in the early 1870's the college had gone on without a president, with the faculty serving as a kind of collective executive.[23] Despite these difficulties the school had earned a good "scientific" reputation.[24] In June, 1871 the faculty reported to the Board of Trustees that they had been unable to raise sufficient funds to continue the school.[25] Subsequent meetings of the board resulted in various suggestions to turn the college over to the state to be used for the agricultural college. A committee was appointed to attend the December, 1871 meeting of the Methodist Conference at Mobile and secure permission to dispose of the college.[26] At Mobile the

21 *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1872.

22 *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1872.

23 Montgomery *Daily Mail*, July 28, 1870; Troy *Messenger*, Aug. 11, 1870. For interesting accounts of the East Alabama Male College, see Union Springs *Times*, July 18, 1866; Mollie Hollifield, *Auburn, Loveliest Village of the Plain* (Auburn, 1955), 75-77; Anson West, *A History of Methodism in Alabama* (Nashville, 1893), 731-739; and Earl Russell Smith, "History of the East Alabama Male College Located at Auburn, Alabama" (unpublished Master's thesis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1932).

24 See *Report of the Commissioner of Education 1871* (Washington, 1872), 655.

25 Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the East Alabama Male College, June 26, 1871 (mss. in the President's Office, Alabama Polytechnic Institute), hereinafter Minutes.

26 *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1871.

conference empowered a committee to do so and this committee, in effect, turned the college over to the Board of Trustees which,[27] at a final meeting, offered the school's grounds and buildings to the State of Alabama.[28] Simultaneously, the townspeople offered to donate one hundred acres of land.[29] Auburn's backers emphasized the favorable geographical location and transportation facilities and were particularly zealous in advertising the town's healthy climate. "By all means . . . locate at Auburn," urged the Opelika *Era and Whig,* only seven miles away.[30]

Before the Civil War there had been numerous church schools in Alabama, a circumstance that prevented any one of them from gaining real distinction, either academically or from the standpoint of enrollment.[31] This sectarianism was present in the competition for the agricultural college. Auburn's selection would probably benefit another Methodist institution, the Southern University at Greensboro, a candid editor explained,[32] by causing the transfer of many students. "The Agricultural College," wrote another, "should be connected with the university as a state institution, free from all denominational or sectarian influences, and control."[33] (It seems apparent now that, if rival denominations, such as the Baptists and Methodists, had been actively arrayed against one another, the college would have been located at the religiously neutral state university.)

In the House of Representatives separate bills were introduced to establish the school at Auburn, Tuscaloosa, and

27 *Minutes of the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, November 29-December 4, 1871, at Mobile* (Nashville, 1872), 7.
28 Minutes, Dec. 9, 1871.
29 Auburn *Orange and Blue,* Jan. 2, 1895. This issue of the student newspaper contains a brief history of the school.
30 Dec. 22, 1871.
31 Boyd, 138-139.
32 Greensboro *Alabama Beacon,* Dec. 16, 1871.
33 Marion *Commonwealth,* Feb. 22, 1872.

Florence. William Murrah of Pickens County was made chairman of a special committee, composed of representatives from each judicial circuit, charged with investigating the various claims and making recommendations.[34] The Murrah Committee made a tour but had difficulty in making a decision. On February 13, 1872 Murrah and others signed a minority report, recommending Auburn as the site because the school's facilities were better than those of the other applicants and because the Methodists had completely released their claim on the institution. However, the committee requested more time to consider other locations.[35] This prompted one observer to report, "Well, sir, the Agricultural College is not located yet."[36]

Ultimately, the Murrah Committee reported in favor of Auburn and the matter was referred to a smaller committee of five members.[37] This committee also reported in favor of Auburn. An attempt was made to amend the committee's bill so that anyone, regardless of race, could enroll at the school. This amendment was defeated, and the bill selecting Auburn passed the House on February 25, 1872.[38] Sheldon Toomer, representative from Lee County, was the man most responsible for its passage. Although Toomer was ill throughout most of the session, he remained at his desk. He died shortly after the legislature adjourned.[39]

The Senate followed a pattern similar to that of the House. The three contending cities had their champions, and a special committee of one representative from each congressional district was set up to make a recommendation.[40] The final

34 Alabama *House Journal*, 1871-1872, 76, 105. 170.
35 *Ibid.*, 463-464; see also Montgomery *Alabama State Journal*, Apr. 5, 1872.
36 Moulton *Advertiser*, Feb. 16, 1872.
37 Alabama *House Journal*, 1871-1872, 476-490.
38 *Ibid.*, 497-498, 547-548, 551, 554.
39 Union Springs *Herald and Times*, Apr. 5, 1872.
40 Alabama *Senate Journal*, 1871-1872, 110, 114, 133, 180.

result, however, hinged on the action of the Senate in regard to the House bill declaring for Auburn. Last minute attempts were made to substitute Birmingham, Talladega, and Elyton, but these were defeated and the Senate passed the House bill favoring Auburn on February 23, two days before the House took final action.[41] In the Senate J. L. Pennington of Lee County led the Auburn forces. An observer recorded that Pennington "stood up manfully and met bodily and squarely all the arguments against Auburn and showed many strong reasons why it was the best place in the State for the purposes of the College."[42]

On February 26, 1872 the legislature passed an act formally accepting the property of the East Alabama Male College, and, while the bill stipulated that the location could be removed should the public interest demand it, Auburn was selected. The school was to "be known by the name of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Alabama."[43]

The legislature next passed an act setting up a seven member Board of Directors to be appointed by the governor for the college. *Ex officio* members of the board were to be the governor, superintendent of public instruction, and president of the State Agricultural Society. The board was to convene within thirty days and select a president and faculty for the college as well as a president and other officers of the board. Further, the board was to select a military commandant and provide for a military department. As an inducement for students, the act permitted two students from each county in the state to be admitted tuition free.[44]

41 *Ibid.*, 505, 509, 512, 519-520; see also Montgomery *Alabama State Journal,* Feb. 24, 1872.

42 Montgomery *Advertiser,* Feb. 24, 1872.

43 Alabama *Acts,* 1871-1872, 84-85.

44 *Ibid.*, 85-87. The State Agricultural Society, revived after the Civil War, had greatly declined by 1872. When the board met at Auburn, there were two claimants to the *ex-officio* position, but because the order was so weak the other board members refused to recognize either of them. See Minutes of the Board of Directors of

Newspapers that had championed Tuscaloosa took their defeat in stride.[45] A Florence editor, however, regretted that North Alabama "has again been spurned, her inducements unregarded, her claims ignored. . . . We pay a fair proportion of the expenses of running the State Machinery; we never receive a share of the profits, we always share a part of the losses."[46] Another North Alabama paper, the Florence *Journal,* declared that the final selection meant no North Alabama students would go there, because the people would not "risk the health of children by sending them to Auburn."[47] In December, 1872 an act passed by the legislature provided for a state normal school to be located at Florence. This placated hurt feelings and eased the tension.[48]

Governor Lindsay and the Board of Trustees met at Auburn March 20 formally to put the college into operation. William H. Barnes was elected president of the board and Governor Lindsay, Charles C. Langdon, and M. L. Stanstell were appointed as a committee to prepare and report a plan of organization for the college.[49] The plan was presented the

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the Agricultural and Mechanical College of the State of Alabama, March 20, 1872 (mss. in the President's Office, Alabama Polytechnic Institute), hereinafter Board Minutes.

45 See Montgomery *Advertiser,* Feb. 27, and Carrollton *West Alabamian* March 6, 1872. Neutral journals reacted to Auburn's selection in a generally favorable manner (see Columbiana *Shelby Guide,* Feb. 29, and Talladega *Alabama Reporter,* Jan. 16, 1872).

46 Florence *Lauderdale Times,* Feb. 20, 1872.

47 Quoted in Montgomery *Advertiser,* March 2, 1872.

48 For more on the college see Susan Kirkman Vaughn, "The South's Oldest State Teachers College," *Peabody Journal of Education,* XIII, 282-288 (May, 1936).

49 Appointed to the first board of directors were: William H. Barnes, state at large; Charles C. Langdon, First District; Robert Tyler, Second District; W. Crawford Dowdell (replaced George P. Harrison who resigned), Third District; M. L. Stanstell, Fourth District; T. D. Osborne, Fifth District; and Henry Lightfoot (J. N. Malone replaced Lightfoot but was not present at the initial Auburn meeting), Sixth District. See Board Minutes, March 20, 1872; Montgomery *Advertiser,* Feb. 28, March 22, 1872. Lindsay was criticized for not appointing a Republican member of the board; one Republican newspaper suggested that Congress might insist that provision be made to admit Negro students. See Montgomery *Alabama State Journal,* Feb. 29, 1872.

next day. It was decided to make an immediate transition. On March 22 the institution legally became the Agricultural and Mechanical College of the State of Alabama, although the first full day of classes under the new régime did not begin until March 25. Acting on the suggestions of the committee, the Board of Directors elected Reverend Isaac Taylor Tichenor as the new president. Tichenor was a distinguished minister, having served for many years as pastor of the First Baptist Church of Montgomery.[50] The board passed a resolution permitting the East Alabama Male College professors to carry out all arrangements and obligations with the students already enrolled in the college. The professors were retained as faculty members and, in addition, a treasurer, military commandant, and two professors were selected.[51]

The board provided that Tichenor, in addition to his duties as president, would hold the title of "Professor of Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, Logic, History, and Political Economy." Of the East Alabama Male College faculty Alexander Hogg was made "Professor of Pure Mathematics," and William C. Stubbs became "Professor of Chemistry, Agricultural and Analytical Geology and Mineralogy." Reverend B. B. Ross was given the title of "Professor of Mental Philosophy, English Language and Literature;" and Jonathan T. Dunklin was made "Professor of Ancient and Modern Languages." "The Commandant and Teacher of Military Tactics and Military Engineering" was a new position and was filled by General George P. Harrison. E. T. Glenn was made college treasurer and the two new faculty members were James B. Read, "Professor of Natural Sciences" (including "Astronomy, Metallurgy, Mechanic Arts and Civil Engineering"), and

[50] Board Minutes, March 20-21, 1872. Montgomery *Daily Mail*, Nov. 6, 1868, states that Tichenor had resigned his pastorship and moved to Shelby County.
[51] Board Minutes, March 20-22, 1872; Montgomery *Advertiser*, March 23, 1872.

William H. Jemison, "Professor of Practical Agriculture, Horticulture, Pomology, &c."[52]

Although Tichenor was a minister, one newspaper pointed out that his selection had nothing to do with religion. Rather, "His religious character was a mere accidental circumstance; and it was simply and entirely the supposed peculiar fitness of the *man* for the requirements of the position that induced a majority of the Board to cast their suffrage for him."[53] Because the earlier school had been denominational, there was a preponderance of Methodist professors. Hogg, Stubbs, and Dunklin were Methodists, while Ross was a Methodist preacher. Of the new men, Read was a Presbyterian, Jemison an Episcopalian, and Harrison a Methodist.[54]

The retention of the old faculty was diplomatic as well as practical. As a newspaper observed, "There were . . . no . . . disruptions of existing relationships—no heart burnings—nothing to cast a cloud over the bright prospects which mark the opening of this Institution, which has much of promise in it to the State."[55] Once the college got fairly under way certain procedural problems were worked out. The two tuition-free cadets had to be fifteen years old and were selected by the various county superintendents of education. In addition, they had to pass a satisfactory examination by the faculty in "Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography and moral character."[56] Tichenor himself embarked on a statewide speaking tour on behalf of the college, often appearing before church gatherings as well as public assemblies.[57]

52 Board Minutes, March 21-22, 1872. The board adopted an extensive set of by-laws. A booklet containing many interesting facts and insights into the school's beginning is Charles W. Edwards, *Auburn Starts A Second Century* (Auburn, 1958).
53 Jacksonville *Republican,* March 30, 1872. Tichenor's selection, however, prompted one writer to express the unofficial satisfaction of the "Baptist denomination in Alabama" (see letter of E. B. Teague in Selma *Southern Argus,* Apr. 5, 1872).
54 Jacksonville *Republican,* March 27, 1872.
55 Union Springs *Herald and Times,* Apr. 10, 1872.
56 Montgomery *Advertiser,* May 22, 1872.
57 *Ibid.,* June 9, 1872; Union Springs *Herald and Times,* May 29, 1872.

From March 25 until the first class graduated October 30, 1872, 103 students were in attendance.[58] That fall the school staged the most elaborate graduation ceremonies the state had seen since the Civil War. Reverend George H. W. Petrie delivered the commencement sermon. Joseph Hodgson, author, editor and politician, made a speech, and Charles C. Langdon delivered an "Agricultural Address." The Wirt and Websterian literary societies held exhibitions and were addressed by General Alpheus Baker. An observer was impressed with the arrangements and expressed admiration for the "lovely girls" and for the cadets "just . . . released from the admirable discipline of the college. . . ." To counteract any false impressions he might have created, the writer emphasized that the literary societies had libraries with several thousand volumes and that efforts were being made to increase the number of books in order "to furnish the cadets with a full supply of intellectual pabulum."[59]

Members of the various classes delivered declamations and the ceremonies were concluded by President Tichenor, who delivered the baccalaureate address and conferred the degrees. At this first graduation seven students received diplomas, four the A.B. degree, two the A.M., and W. E. Horne of Bullock County became the first engineer to graduate from Auburn.[60]

Launching the college did not insure its successful operation. At first the proceeds from the sale of the land script were so invested that only a small portion of the interest was made available for the school. The suggestion was made that, if

58 *Catalogue and Circular of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Alabama* [1873] (Louisville, 1872), 4 (hereinafter *Catalogue*).

59 Montgomery *Advertiser,* Nov. 2, 1872.

60 Levin V. Rosser, G. C. Speigner, R. O. Rounsavall, and E. W. Solomon received B.A. degrees, and R. E. L. Burt and C. R. Williamson received the M.A. Horne received his diploma in civil engineering in absentia. See Montgomery *Advertiser,* Nov. 2, 1872 and *Catalogue of the Officers and Alumni of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute Auburn, Alabama 1872-1911* (Opelika, 1911), which provided some data on these early graduates.

Congress would permit an expenditure of the principal, provided that the endowment fund was maintained at $200,000, then barracks and a machine shop with appliances could be put into operation. Spending of the principal, it was said, would also release money for the agricultural department and experimental farms and the faculty would be able to collect their full instead of partial salaries. If Congress did not permit a reduction of the principal fund, it was hoped that the fund could be duplicated by another grant of land. Land scrip sales brought in $253,500. The college was paid 8 per cent annually, or $20,280, a sum, even had it been paid in other than depreciated state certificates, hardly adequate to meet the needs of the school. Not until 1883 did the state appropriate money for the school.[61]

In February, 1872 a joint memorial was passed by the legislature requesting Congress to grant Alabama more land. The request was justified by the argument that the original grant was made before the passage of the Civil War amendments and did not take into account the entire Negro population of the state.[62] Despite the logic of the request, Congress did not appropriate any additional land.

By early 1873 Auburn was called a "decaying town." One editor wrote, "We beg of the present General Assembly of Alabama, when organized, to remove it [the college] as quickly as possible from the lowlands around and about *sweet* Auburn to the highlands of the healthiest place in Alabama. Need we say that the city of Talladega is the proper place?"[63] Another, a correspondent from a Columbus, Georgia newspaper, was impressed with the institution's faculty and facilities. The

61 Saffold Berney, *Hand-Book of Alabama . . .* (Birmingham, 1892), 195; Allen Going, *Bourbon Democracy in Alabama, 1874-1890* (University, Ala., 1951), 165-166. The financial difficulties of Auburn have been recounted in Ralph B. Draughon, *Alabama Polytechnic Institute* (Birmingham, 1954), 12-13.

62 Alabama *Acts*, 1871-1872, 465.

63 Talladega *Mountain Home*, Jan. 22, 1873.

cadets were uniformed in grey fatigue caps, plain jackets, and pants with black corded seams. A more showy and expensive jacket was used for special occasions. Every afternoon at four o'clock a dress parade was held. New Commandant Colonel R. A. Hardaway was probably not pleased that all of the cadets did not have uniforms, despite overtime work by the tailor shop. The reporter described other college activities and believed that the school gave every appearance of stability.[64]

Auburn's selection as the site of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Alabama came only after an acrimonious struggle. Because its only funds were Federal, it had to economize rigidly and its first years were not marked by unqualified success. Yet editors, politicians, businessmen, and farmers alike accepted the idea that technology and science would dominate the future. This fact was more significant than temporary deficiencies. By January, 1873 an Alabama editor correctly predicted that with the establishment of the school a new phase in the educational history of the state had begun.[65]

[64] Troy *Messenger*, March 20, 1873, quoting Columbus (Ga.) *Sun*. See *Catalogue*, 1873, 30.
[65] Eufaula *Weekly Times*, Jan. 23, 1873.

Dr. Jerome Cochran, Yellow Fever Fighter

By ROBERT PARTIN

DOCTOR JEROME COCHRAN is known to physicians and students of medical history for his leadership in the founding of the Alabama Medical Association and the Alabama State Department of Public Health,[1] but perhaps few, even among those who annually hear the Jerome Cochran Lecture,[2] know that he was a yellow fever expert of international reputation.[3] This is in part understandable. The organizations he helped create are still standing,[4] but the victory over yellow fever, achieved in the decade immediately following his death through the use of scientific knowledge undreamed of by the fighting doctor, caused the medical men of the next generation to look upon his contributions as archaic, and his great reputation was quickly overshadowed

1 This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Association, Tuscaloosa, April 18, 1959.

2 See C. V. Stabler, "The History of the Alabama Public Health System" (Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1944), 53-109, and Robert T. Daland, *Government and Health: The Alabama Experience* (University, Ala., 1955), 114, 120, 126-127; and *Journal of the Medical Association of Alabama,* XXII, 368 (June, 1953).

3 The importance of Cochran's yellow fever work cannot be understood without a study of the medical history of Alabama, 1868-1896. A fairly clear idea of the relative importance of his work with the disease, however, may be gained by reading the sketch of him in *Memorial Record of Alabama . . .* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1893), II, 649-655, his obituary in *Journal of the American Medical Association,* XXVIII, 448-449 (Aug. 22, 1896), and the various "Memorial Meeting" addresses on him in *Transactions of the Medical Association of the State of Alabama* (Montgomery, 1897), 90-108, 287-294 (hereinafter *Transactions*).

4 For a recent estimate of the importance of the two organizations, see Daland, 1-22, 113-126.

by that of such men as Walter Reed, William C. Gorgas, Carlos Finlay, and Jesse W. Lazear.[5]

But the conquest did not alter the fact that until after 1900 yellow fever was the Great Plague of the western hemisphere.[6] Nor did the brilliant work of later experts destroy the value of Cochran's accomplishments, for through his work he made permanent contributions to the developments of both state and national systems of public health.[7] Indeed, his long struggle with the Yellow Demon yet remains, to a large degree, the key to Cochran's entire medical career.

Jerome Cochran was born at Moscow, Fayette County, Tennessee, December 4, 1831 and was reared on a farm in Marshall County, Mississippi. He was educated in the county rural schools, the Botanico-Medical College (Memphis), and the University of Nashville, receiving the M.D. degree from the last-named institution in 1861. Throughout his life he supplemented his formal education with extensive reading of history, poetry, philosophy, political economy, parliamentary law, and general science. After serving for four years as a surgeon in the Confederate Army, he went to Mobile in June, 1865, gained a large clientele and quickly won a place of leadership in local medical circles, not only in the practice of his profession, but also in related fields of professional organization, forensic medicine, and public hygiene, with a special interest in yellow fever.[8] In order to appreciate the magnitude of his task, it is necessary to remember that when he began his work in Mobile there was in Alabama no medical

5 See George K. Strode, *Yellow Fever* (New York, 1951), 6-12. For information on the epidemic of 1905, the last one to occur in the United States, see George Augustin, *History of Yellow Fever* (New York, 1909), 1027-1194.

6 Strode, 6. For a description of the yellow fever epidemic of 1878, see J. P. Dromgoole, *Yellow Fever: Heroes, Honors, and Horrors* (Louisville, 1879); and for a history of yellow fever in the United States by localities, 1668-1905, see Augustin, 767-1024.

7 Ralph C. Williams, *The United States Public Health Service, 1789-1950* (Washington, 1951), 114.

8 *Memorial Record of Alabama,* II, 649-655; *Transactions,* 1897, 90-108. 287-294.

organization, no money, and apparently very little knowledge of or professional or public sentiment for combating yellow fever epidemics by means of "state medicine."[9]

In 1865 Cochran's experience with yellow fever extended back over a period of ten years. He had seen his first case in Memphis in 1855. During the Mobile outbreak in 1867 he saw many more,[10] and in 1870 he published his first of many articles on the disease, one in a series in the Mobile *Register* on the endemic and epidemic diseases of Mobile.[11] These essays marked the beginning of his work "in the field of Public Hygiene"; and the one on yellow fever the beginning of his long struggle with the pestilence. They attracted wide popular attention and influenced the City of Mobile to adopt in 1871 a health ordinance, written by Cochran, which placed the control of sanitary matters in the hands of a Board of Health elected by the Mobile Medical Society. Cochran was immediately elected Mobile's health officer. He held the office only a short time, however, for in 1872 the Republicans came into power in Mobile's politics, immediately ousting him and all members of the Board of Health and replacing them with politicians. Two years later, after failing to keep out yellow fever in 1873 and after failing to check a widespread epidemic of smallpox in early 1874, the alarmed business men of Mobile reinstated the Board of Health and reappointed Cochran as health officer. Accepting the challenge, Cochran demanded and received dictatorial authority for the task. Thus armed, he conquered the epidemic within a few weeks, thereby gaining a solid reputation as a physician and widespread recognition as a health officer.[12]

9 W. H. Sanders, *The History, Philosophy, and Fruits of Medical Organization in Alabama* (Montgomery, 1914), 2-11. For Cochran's ideas on public health, see Cochran, "State Medicine . . ." in *Transactions,* 1872, 18-27.

10 Memphis (Tenn.) *Appeal,* March 3, 1889.

11 These articles were reprinted as "Endemic Diseases of Mobile," in *Transactions,* 1871, 235-264.

12 *Ibid.,* 1897, 95.

Although he had won his renown by conquering smallpox, in the early 1870's (indeed, all his life) Cochran regarded yellow fever as the most important of all infectious maladies.[13] His first article on the subject—written in 1870 for the Mobile *Register*—was indeed an amazing paper. It revealed that, at a time when knowledge of the fever was rudimentary in the extreme, he had reached very advanced conclusions regarding its cause, origin, and dissemination. Among the more important were the following: (1) yellow fever was caused by a specific germ; (2) the germ was carried by sick people, by infected clothing, bedding, and other articles; (3) the disease was exotic; (4) it was carried over oceans and seas by ships; and (5) it was carried inland by river boats, railroads, and other vehicles of commerce and travel.

Cochran also reached very definite conclusions about the best methods of combating the fever. He believed that (1) the most effective weapon against its epidemics was the quarantine; (2) the germ could be destroyed by extreme heat, extreme cold, and certain chemicals; and (3) the control of epidemics must always be under the direction of medical experts, not in the hands of politicians.[14] These beliefs he never abandoned nor allowed others to forget.

Although Cochran played no official part in combating the yellow fever epidemic of 1873, he published in 1874 a long report on the epidemic in Mobile and other infected cities. In it he displayed evidence that he had mastered the scientific techniques of collecting epidemic data and he also demonstrated, with an overwhelming array of facts, that no confidence at all should be placed in either the work or the official reports of political health boards. He also showed that "all

13 *Ibid.*, 1871, 236; "The Theory and Practice of Quarantine," *ibid.*, 1880, 336, and *Problems in Regard to Yellow Fever and the Prevention of Yellow Fever Epidemics* (Concord, N. H., 1888), 1 (hereinafter *Problems*). *Problems* was read before the American Public Health Association, Milwaukee, November, 22-23, 1888.
14 *Transactions*, 1871, 247-255.

out-of-doors" disinfecting with carbolic acid, which was widely used and often highly praised, was absolutely useless in combating yellow fever.[15]

Realizing the urgent need of placing the control of public health in the hands of the medical profession, Cochran undertook what then seemed two impossible tasks: the complete reorganization of the Alabama Medical Association, and the creation of a state-wide system for public health to be placed under the control of that organization.

In 1870, after careful study, Cochran presented a plan for reorganization of the Alabama Medical Association, one designed to change it from a weak to a powerful body. This proposal was thoroughly discussed at the annual sessions of 1870, 1871, 1872 and in 1873, after further discussion, was adopted as the constitution of the Medical Association of the State of Alabama. The adoption made it possible for Cochran to change "the loose convention of doctors, whose principal business was the discussion of questions of medical science and art" into "a compactly organized, thoroughly disciplined and self perpetuating medical legislature." Under his leadership it was soon to become a powerful, almost all-powerful, organization in Alabama medicine.[16]

One of Cochran's fundamental beliefs was that the control of all sanitary affairs should be in the hands of the members of the medical profession. In 1872 he presented a plan to the Medical Association of the State of Alabama for placing the control of public health entirely in the hands of the profession.[17] The association accepted it and began to fight for its adoption by the state legislature. In 1875 the bill, drawn by Cochran, was passed, creating the Alabama State Department of Public Health under the complete control of the Alabama

15 "The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1873," *ibid.*, 1874, 112-175.
16 *Ibid.*, 1897, 97-98. The Association still operates (1960) under "Cochran's Constitution."
17 *Ibid.*, 1872, 18-27.

Medical Association.[18] This act, along with a series of subsequent acts, practically all of them written by Cochran,[19] gave the association control over such vital fields as medical education, collecting of vital statistics, licensing of physicians, and public health, including control of yellow fever epidemics.[20]

Cochran's work at Mobile was in a sense only an apprenticeship. His real work with yellow fever began in 1878, the year in which, according to Cochran, there occurred "the most widely disseminated, the most destructive . . . and dreadful epidemic of yellow fever that has ever devastated the states of the Gulf and the Mississippi Valley. . . ."[21] So widespread was the suffering that President Rutherford B. Hayes, taking "prompt and extraordinary measures," sent relief into the stricken areas, and appointed a committee to investigate the epidemic.[22]

On September 30 Cochran, who was at that time quarantine officer at the City of Mobile Quarantine Station, was appointed by Dr. John M. Woodworth, surgeon general of the Marine Hospital Service, to serve on the Yellow Fever Commission and on October 4 he left Mobile for New Orleans to begin his investigation in that stricken city.[23] For two and

18 Alabama *Acts,* 1874-1875, 130-131. For information on the early history of the Alabama Department of Public Health, see *Transactions,* 1880, 96-150.

19 Stabler, 61.

20 For the grounds upon which Cochran justified the undemocratic system, see Daland, 127. During his Mobile sojourn Cochran served as professor of public hygiene and medical jurisprudence in the Medical College of Alabama and was "writer-in-chief" for the Medical Association of the State of Alabama and the Alabama State Department of Public Health and advocate of "scientific medicine." His published papers numbered more than fifty *(Memorial Record of Alabama,* II, 651-653). See *Transactions,* 1889, 120, and Memphis *Appeal,* March 3, 1889, which state that before 1870 Cochran himself fell ill with yellow fever.

21 *Memorial Record of Alabama,* II, 112.

22 James D. Richardson (comp.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1896-1900), VII, 492. For a description of the epidemic, see Robert Partin, "Alabama's Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1878," *Alabama Review,* X, 31-51 (Jan., 1957).

23 Mobile *Register,* Oct. 5, 1878. The Marine Hospital Service became the United

one-half months he visited infected cities, gathering a "multitude of facts." His work was later described as "almost superhuman."[24]

In the meantime, Congress had appointed a joint committee "upon the subject of Epidemic Diseases." This committee designated Woodworth as president *ex-officio* of the Board of Experts and instructed him to organize and direct its work. Woodworth called a meeting of the Yellow Fever Commission in Memphis, December 26-28, and merged it into the Board of Experts, twelve in number "with a retinue of clerks and stenographers." They visited New Orleans and Memphis and sixteen other afflicted cities, for the purpose of gathering more facts on the disease.[25]

On January 15, 1879 the Board of Experts convened in Washington to assemble its "concurrent testimony of multitudes of facts." Cochran was made chairman of the Subcommittee of Experts on the Origin, Cause and Distinctive Features of Yellow Fever and Cholera, which reported to the committees of the Senate and House on the investigation of the epidemic of 1878. All 34 of the answers to the "propositions" (questions) asked by the committees were made by Cochran. They "constitute such a summing up of what was known of the natural history of yellow fever as is nowhere else to be found."

The effect of the 1878-1879 epidemic was important to Alabama. It frightened the people as had none other and caused the legislature to appropriate $3,000 for public health work.[26] The act was passed on February 12, 1879. And two months later, on April 11, the Alabama Medical Association elected Cochran the state's first health officer at a salary of

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States Public Health Service in 1912. See *Transactions,* 1879, 57, and *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia* (New York, 1888), III, 321.

24 *Transactions,* 1879, 64; *ibid.,* 1897, 96.

25 *Ibid.,* 1879, 57, 64. The Board of Experts was dissolved in February, 1879.

26 Alabama *Acts,* 1878-1879, 33-34.

$125 (later $150) a month. He held the office until his death in 1896.[27]

As early as 1870 Cochran had become convinced that the quarantine was the most effective weapon against the spread of yellow fever. His experiences during the epidemic of 1878 confirmed this belief and caused him to give careful attention to its use during his first year as Alabama's health officer. In a 54-page paper, "The Theory and Practice of Quarantine," issued in 1880, he considered "all possible schemes of protection against the introduction and dissemination" of the disease: "International, Inter-State, Intra-State, and Municipal Quarantines and Personal Prophylaxis." Although his quarantine methods were applicable to all "infectious maladies," he confined this particular paper to their use in the control of yellow fever. One-half of it he devoted to the infection of ships, the disinfection of ships, cargoes, and passengers and crews, the quarantine of ships, quarantine of non-intercourse, and modified quarantines. In the remainder he elaborated upon inter-state, intra-state, and municipal quarantines, suggesting the last-named as the most important of all problems. His method of control were three: isolation, disinfection, and segregation. In regard to personal prophylaxis, Cochran was very specific. Although there had been many "so-called antiseptic remedies . . . pushed into prominence by physicians who have studied yellow fever at a safe distance," he knew of "no method of fortifying the system against the approaches of yellow fever."[28] All quarantines he classified as "shot gun" or "scientific," emphatically declaring that "all quarantines should be conducted under the general supervision of the State Board of Health." The aim of the "scientific quarantine" officer was always "to exclude from healthy communities all infected persons and things; and to allow to pass to

[27] *Transactions*, 1879, 51.
[28] *Ibid.*, 1880, 338-390.

their destination all persons and things not frought with danger to public health, and to do this so as to secure the maximum of protection along with the minimum of interference with commerce and travel."[29]

On August 18, 1883 Dr. Cochran was sent to Florida by the Alabama State Board of Health to investigate an outbreak of yellow fever at the Pensacola Navy Yard and to recommend measures necessary for the protection of Alabamians. He reported that the quarantine there was efficient and expressed hope that the disease would not spread to the city. However, on August 22 two suspicious cases were discovered on Palafox Wharf. One of these, that of Henry Baldamo, a Finn, who died on August 23, became the center of a long and bitter controversy between Cochran and the Pensacola *Commercial* and other anti-yellow fever Pensacolans. The Pensacola health officer, a Dr. White, and three other local physicians familiar with the disease, pronounced the two cases yellow fever. Cochran agreed with them and reported the presence of yellow fever in Pensacola to Montgomery and Mobile on August 22; and, as a result of his report, these two cities and several Alabama communities proclaimed quarantine against Pensacola, causing much excitement. And when, after a post mortem examination, the quarantine officers at Pensacola finally stated that Baldamo died, not of yellow fever, but of "swamp fever," there developed in Pensacola what Cochran called "the mad drama."

The controversy raged for weeks. Cochran declared there was yellow fever in Pensacola—in all, forty or fifty cases and ten or twelve deaths; the *Commercial* brazenly and vehemently denied there was any fever in "the healthy city."[30] Cochran had, according to the paper, done irreparable damage to the city:

29 Sanders, 7.

30 *Transactions,* 1884, 207-215; see Montgomery *Advertiser,* Aug. 24, Sept. 5, Oct. 7, 1883.

To such men as Dr. Cochran, and some of our own doctors, the people are indebted for the loss of thousands of dollars of money, and an arrest of the progress and prosperity of this section that it may take years to overcome. Public slander has done its work, and the authors will yet receive the due reward of their nefarious conduct. . . . We think it would be a good idea if every place that has any regard for its name for health would quarantine Dr. Cochran and not allow him to enter its limits during the season in which he could work up a panic.[31]

In rebuttal, Cochran referred to the comments of the *Commercial* as "measureless expectoration of billingsgate," adding that the Pensacolans were "mad with passion." He described the situation in the city as "in very truth a reign of terror," in which "a doctor hardly dared whisper yellow fever in the privacy of his own house." Out of this state of affairs it resulted that the Florida and Alabama communities in the vicinity failed to evoke the quarantines and consequently suffered from infection. The severest epidemic occurred at nearby Brewton, Alabama.

While Cochran was still involved in the first act of the "mad drama," H. L. Rankin of Brewton died with what the local doctors called a "malignant type of malarial fever" and on October 3 Cochran went to the town. He found the problem of diagnosis extremely difficult. He was shown a sick woman, Mrs. Taylor Ghent, and her dying daughter, Nellie, who died within ten minutes after he saw her.

Twenty-four hours after his arrival in Brewton, the local health officer held a consultation with Cochran and other physicians, suggesting that Nellie Ghent's death had been caused by yellow fever. Dr. J. T. B. Foard, the principal speaker, said it could not have been fever, for they had not been able to trace it to any source and because the same fever also existed in the piney woods area which could not possibly

[31] Quoted in *Transactions,* 1884, 211. A long discussion of the controversy in Pensacola, including the threat to quarantine Cochran, may be found in the Mobile *Register,* Oct. 12, 1883.

have yellow fever. All the local doctors declared it pernicious or hemorrhagic malarial fever. In deference to the "unanimous contrary opinion" of these physicians, Cochran agreed to admit that the diagnosis was doubtful. A few days later "yellow fever of a malignant type" did appear and Cochran confidently reported it to the State Board of Health. Three experts—Dr. Scales of Mobile, Dr. Stone of Savannah, and Dr. Carson of New Orleans—later confirmed his diagnosis as correct.[32]

The report of the presence of yellow fever in Brewton, as it had in Pensacola, started a "mad drama," with Alabama cities and towns proclaiming quarantines against Brewton and Brewtonians proclaiming war against Cochran. The local paper referred to his official report as "rumors" spread by "the cloven tongue of malice and calumny," which created "a causeless stampede."[33] Foard was the self-cast local hero of the drama. He gave the lie to some of Cochran's reports and emphatically denied the presence of the disease. He deeply resented the report that there were cases of "black vomit" in Brewton. The following is a part of his seventh denial, sent to the Montgomery Board of Health:

> We said it was malarial fever, and we say so still. May be the board would like it better if we were to say congestive, malignant, or pernicious malarial fever. In consequence of the unfair and erroneous reports which have been published about our sick dying from black vomit, and so many cases of black vomit on hand, we have not for the past four days sufficient help to bury our dead. There have been no deaths from black vomit here. The matter ejected by some of the sick bears the same relation to the black vomit of yellow fever as sherry wine to ink.

The epidemic raged throughout October but, after a heavy frost, it was declared officially at an end on December 3. It had resulted in 75 cases and 28 deaths. According to

32 *Transactions*, 1884, 164, 173-177; see Montgomery *Advertiser*, Oct. 26, 1887.
33 Escambia *Banner* (Brewton), Oct. 6, 1883.

Cochran's report, "the doctors of the place . . . remained permanently incredulous," but the people of Brewton accepted the fact that they had yellow fever in their midst and sent calls for help. The response was generous and seemed to have softened the harshness of the quarantines. Even Foard softened his attitude toward Cochran—at least, after the latter had recovered from a slight illness, he reported that "Dr. Cochran was well and performing noble work."[34] Presumably, he meant noble work in combating "hemorrhagic malarial fever"—not yellow fever.

Cochran seemed more embarrassed than embittered about his Brewton experiences—embarrassed because he had not more readily recognized yellow fever. Up to that time, however, he had never seen a case of hemorrhagic malarial fever; therefore, as soon he had time, he worked out a "clinical description" in parallel columns of the two diseases. He was no doubt also embarrassed by the meagerness of his diagnostic equipment. He had had no thermometer for taking Nellie Ghent's temperature and had had to test her urine "in an old tin sardine box."[35]

In the early morning of September 12, 1888 Cochran received a telegram from the health officer of Morgan County: "I fear we have yellow fever; come at once." He left Montgomery on the next train and arrived in Decatur in the afternoon. There he learned that A. D. Spencer, a fruit dealer of the North Alabama village, had died with black vomit the previous evening.[36] After gathering all the information he could about the death, Cochran reached the conclusion that Spencer had died with yellow fever. In order to be sure, however, he agreed to an autopsy; and the body was exhumed for

34 *Transactions*, 1884, 177, 20-203; Montgomery *Advertiser*, Oct. 25, Nov. 7, 1883.
35 "The Differential Diagnosis Between Yellow Fever and the Hemorrhagic Malarial Fever," *Transactions*, 1884, 181-182, 173.
36 *Report of the State Board of Health State of Alabama, 1888* (Montgomery, 1889), 49 (hereinafter *Report*).

a post-mortem. After the body had been examined by sixteen physicians, a vote was taken to determine the cause of death. The four physicians who did not live in Decatur voted the case to be yellow fever; but of the ten Decatur physicians nine voted that it was not yellow fever, and one refrained from voting.[37]

Although in the minority, Cochran issued the following statement: "I believe Mr. Spencer died of yellow fever, although the case was not typical." This announcement set off "a perfect storm in Decatur." Cochran was denounced on the streets "in the most bitter and extravagant terms," and "was called an ignoramous [*sic*] and a fraud." There was even talk of driving him out of town.

The local physicians issued a public statement, declaring that "Mr. Spencer did not die of yellow fever," adding that "there is not at the present time any yellow fever in Decatur." An indignation meeting was called by the aroused citizens "to determine what action should be taken to counteract the false reports circulated with reference to yellow fever at Decatur." A resolution was approved to request Surgeon General John B. Hamilton, of Marine Hospital Service, to send an expert to Decatur to investigate and report. In order to make sure that Cochran was not chosen, they stipulated that the physician must not be a citizen of Alabama.[38] "Thus," as one observer put it, "the first step taken toward stamping out the disease was a controversy as to whether or not the disease was present. The town was divided into two hostile camps and all action was paralyzed."[39]

The disagreements and subsequent villification heaped upon him by the people did not frighten Cochran, for he had

37 W. E. Forest, "The Cost of Yellow Fever Epidemics—The Epidemic at Decatur, Ala., in 1888," *Medical Record: A Weekly Journal of the Medicine and Surgery,* XXXV, 622 (June 8, 1889).
38 *Report,* 57-58.
39 Forest, XXXV, 62 (June, 1889).

long been accustomed to both. Unfortunately for the people of Decatur, the bluster did not frighten away the yellow fever, however. Other deaths soon occurred—one of them a local physician who had signed the statement declaring that there was no yellow fever in Decatur. "The effect of these cases," Cochran wrote, "was to convince the doctors and the people that the State Health Officer had been correct when he announced the presence of yellow fever." The new cases caused the public to acknowledge the fact that it was present "in all of its deadly form."

The epidemic continued throughout October and the first weeks of November, causing an exodus from Decatur. During this period the whole business and social life of the region was paralyzed. In all, there were 165 cases and 35 deaths. Among the dead were four Decatur doctors.[40]

The fact that the physicians and people at last admitted that Cochran had been right in his diagnosis did not in any way bring them around to his point of view regarding the handling of the epidemic. As the President of the Alabama Medical Association said in his annual address the following April, the people "ignored our constituted head and authority, the state health officer, by only according the right to advise, when that advice comported with their individual views or local interests."[41] Indeed, there was little agreement on any point. The most highly publicized disagreements were over the need of Federal aid during the epidemic and the best methods of preventing future epidemics. Cochran said no Federal aid was needed; the Mayors of Decatur and nearby New Decatur said it was greatly needed. The Decatur authorities appealed to Congressman Joseph Wheeler for aid, accusing Cochran of blocking the appeal. Wheeler referred the matter to Governor Thomas Seay, who seemed to feel that

40 *Report*, 57-67; *Alabama Enquirer* (Hartselle), Sept. 27, 1888; *Transactions*, 1889, 203.
41 *Ibid.*, 1889, 19.

Cochran had exceeded his authority in blocking the appeal, but agreed with him in principle.[42] After returning to Montgomery, Cochran blamed all the trouble in Decatur about relief on the Republican mayor of New Decatur.[43] No Federal aid was ever secured.

The post-epidemic dispute over the best methods of preventing future epidemics in Decatur also involved the problem of Federal aid, but fundamentally it was controversy over the nature and cause of yellow fever epidemics. In this dispute, as in previous ones, Cochran and many people in Decatur were on opposite sides. Cochran held, as he had since 1870, that yellow fever was exotic and that the best method of preventing epidemics in Decatur was to prevent importation of the germ. On the other hand, certain leaders in Decatur, and they were backed by a large number of citizens, held that the disease was indigenous to Decatur and that the best way to prevent the occurrence of future epidemics was to burn the infected "things" of the town.[44]

The controversy over what to do at Decatur smouldered throughout the winter of 1888-1889 and flared up at the Montgomery Quarantine Conference in March, a conference organized and directed by Cochran, the purpose of which was to formulate and agree upon "scientific" quarantine regulations. It was attended by the leading health authorities of the nation, including Surgeon General Hamilton. At the meeting Mayor R. W. Austin of New Decatur pleaded that the conference support the burning of infected "things" at Decatur at the expense of the Federal government. The mayor waxed eloquent, declaring that he could read a letter—the nature of this heart-rendering letter was not revealed—that "would melt a heart of stone." Nothing Mayor Austin said, however,

42 Mobile *Register,* Oct. 10-Nov. 1, 1888.
43 Montgomery *Advertiser,* Nov. 16, 1888.
44 This controversy is discussed in *ibid.,* March 3-10, 1889, and Memphis *Appeal,* March 3, 1889.

melted Cochran's heart or softened his iron will. He pointed out that eloquence did not change the facts of the case, and in a conference meeting declared that "he would cut off his right hand before he would do this work." He repeatedly declared that Decatur was free of yellow fever and would remain free unless it were imported. The conference gave him full support. All physicians of the South, however, did not agree with him on theories and plans of preventing yellow fever epidemics. And "certain parties" in Decatur did not agree with him on anything.[45]

In an open letter to the Birmingham *Age Herald* on the "Decatur Disinfection," Cochran made his position clear on the Decatur controversy, declaring that it would be folly to give into the mob who opposed him because they based their argument upon "not knowledge but . . . on a super-abundant store of presumptuous ignorance."[46]

The last act of the Decatur drama occurred in Governor Seay's office. As has been suggested, the Federal government was willing to spend money to prevent yellow fever (Congress had appropriated $5,000,000 for the purpose of preventing future outbreaks) and the people of Decatur petitioned President Benjamin Harrison for the whole amount, or a large part of it, for the purpose of destroying and rebuilding their town. The President referred the petition to the Governor, who sought the advice of a number of yellow fever experts, including Cochran, who replied, "Mr. Governor, you may have my resignation whenever you wish it, but as long as I am Health Officer, I shall not advise you to squander the money which would be unnecessarily and unwisely expended in burning the village of Decatur." "His quietly spoken words," wrote a historian of the epidemic, "carried conviction. The President's offer was turned down. Decatur was *not* burned to the

45 Montgomery *Advertiser*, March 7, 8, 10, 12, 1889.
46 Quoted in *ibid.*, March 10, 1889.

ground and rebuilt. And there was no recurrence of yellow fever there in 1889 or since."[47]

Cochran was thoroughly disgusted with the way the local authorities treated him in Decatur. He was especially displeased with the panic quarantines. In an address in Milwaukee a few weeks after he left Decatur, he said, "These flying people spread panic wherever they go, the panic being far more infectious than the fever and then follows an epidemic of quarantines." Such quarantines the doctor branded as "unlawful, extravagant, absurd, grotesque, foolish, cruel,—in one word, abominable beyond all that words have power to give expression to."[48]

The members of the Alabama Medical Association were likewise disgusted with what had happened to their official representative at Decatur and at their next meeting they adopted "The Quarantine Code of Alabama." Submitted by Cochran, the code declared that "Shot gun quarantines are barbarous, and discreditable to our civilization. All quarantines should be under the control of experts." At the same meeting the association passed a resolution exempting Cochran from the restrictions of quarantines.[49]

The Decatur epidemic was Cochran's last important conflict with the pestilence. There were only two minor outbreaks in the state between 1888 and his death in 1896. Both occurred in 1893, one at Fort Bayon (six cases and five deaths) and one at Fort Morgan (two cases and one death). However, the report from the Pensacola Board of Health on August 9, 1893 of two deaths in that city prompted Governor Thomas G. Jones, upon the recommendation of the State Board of Health, to proclaim a quarantine of Pensacola. The Governor also proclaimed a quarantine against Brunswick, Georgia.

47 John M. Gibson, "Dr. Cochran, Decatur, and Yellow Fever" (mimeographed address, delivered in Montgomery, Sept. 30, 1850, copy in possession of the writer).
48 *Problems,* 11.
49 "Quarantine Code of Alabama," *Transactions,* 1889, 113-121.

There was little panic and the quarantines were orderly handled, according to the new code.[50]

Although suffereing ill health during the last years of his life, Cochran attended to the routine duties of his office and kept up his professional activities, including the reading of a paper on "Recent Progress in Hygiene" at the April, 1896 meeting of the Alabama Medical Association.

Jerome Cochran died of Bright's disease on August 17, 1896 at Montgomery, age 64. He was buried in Mobile. His obituary notices and memorial addresses were long and numerous and high in praise of his character and his many great achievements. One Alabama physician declared that "in my mind, the pages of history record the names of no greater heroes than those of Hippocrates, John Hunter, Edward Jenner, Marion Sims, Robert Koch, and Jerome Cochran." Another avowed that such a man as he deserved a "monument more lasting than brass, more sublime than the regal elevation of the Egyptian pyramids. . . ." Other Alabama physicians held the same high opinion of him; and by popular subscription they erected a bronze bust to his memory and established in his honor the "Jerome Cochran Lecture," which has since been delivered annually at the meetings of the Alabama Medical Association since 1899.[51] "Jerome Cochran, for eighteen years the State health officer," Joel C. DuBose wrote in 1908, "ranked among the strong men of the age."[52] Of all the tributes paid to him, however, that of *The Journal of the Ameri-*

[50] *Ibid.*, 1894, 158-165.

[51] *Ibid.*, 1897, 106, 291-296; Montgomery *Advertiser* and Mobile *Register*, Aug. 18, 1896; *Journal of the American Medical Association*, XXVIII, 448-449 (Aug. 22, 1896); *Transactions*, 1897, 91-108, 287-294. The bust of Cochran, for many years on display at the Alabama Medical Association office in Montgomery, is now in storage, but the writer was informed that it would probably be placed in the new building now planned for construction.

[52] *Alabama History* (Atlanta, 1908), 234; *Transactions*, 1897, 104-105; and Douglas L. Cannon, "Jerome Cochran: The South's First Gift to Public Health," *Southern Medical Journal*, XXIX, 1188 (Dec., 1936).

can Medical Association most accurately summarized his work and character. After ranking him among the foremost sanitarians of his day and praising the thoroughness of his yellow fever work, the *Journal* closed with the following passage:

> As a man his character was that of one devoted to sanitary science, of great learning and unwearied industry. His long and faithful service to his State is such that it can not be overrated or excluded from the history of its progress. He had his "quips and oddities," what genius has not? But take him all in all, we shall not see his like. His friends, his State, his country and our association have suffered a great loss.[53]

[53] XXVIII, 449 (Aug. 22, 1896).

The Alabama Presbyterian and His Slave, 1830-1864

By GEORGE C. WHATLEY, III

In 1818 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. stated its official position on slavery by declaring " 'it a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature,' and 'totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ.'[1] After sympathizing with that portion of the church affected by the evil, the resolution exhorted Presbyterians 'to increase their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery.' "[2] This attitude prevailed among Southern Presbyterians until the 1830's, when abolitionist propaganda began to come into the South in increasingly greater volume. As the tempo of propaganda increased, the reaction to it did likewise. The earliest evidence of the reaction by Alabama Presbyterians occurred at a meeting of the South Alabama Presbytery at the Millennium Hope Church, September 24, 1835, when the following resolution was adopted:

The Committee appointed to express the views of Presbytery upon the subject of Abolition made the following report which was received and addopted [*sic*] viz. Resolved that in the opinion of this Presbytery the Schemes and efforts of the Abolitionist of the North are ruinous to the peace and happiness of our beloved country and that the inculcation of Incendiary Papers and Pamphlets deserves the reprobation of this community as distructive [*sic*] to the comfort of the Slave pop-

[1] This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Association, Tuscaloosa, April 17, 1959.

[2] Dr. Walter B. Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest* (Richmond, 1952), 75-76.

ulation the interest of the church and the Stability of established Institutions. Resolved that it be recommended to the members of our churches not to incourage [*sic*] the circulation of any Newspapers or Pamphlet that advocates in any way the views of the Abolitionists and that whenever such papers or pamphlets are thrust upon us gratitously they be immediately returned.

It was about this same time that both the Tuscaloosa and North Alabama Presbytĕries adopted similar resolutions.[3]

One historian has written that there is much evidence to support the fact that a sermon preached in 1833 by the Reverend James Smylie, of Mississippi, was the real beginning of the Southern Presbyterian belief that slavery had a true scriptural basis. At first Smylie's belief was not very widely accepted. It was challenged in a series of questions from the Presbytery of Chilicothe, Ohio, whereupon Smylie greatly enlarged his thesis with scriptural background. It soon became widely accepted by Southern Presbyterians.[4]

The case was stated later for Alabama Presbyterians by the Reverend Fred A. Ross, of Huntsville. With characteristic Presbyterian thoroughness, he first went at the problem from the theological standpoint, stating that there were two theories of right and wrong. The first was that right and wrong existed in the abstract nature of things. If this were true, God studied the rights and wrongs of nature, just as man did. Since God had been studying these rights and wrongs longer than man, he was far ahead of man in the understanding of these truths, but that man would, with more study and time, eventually match the understanding of God. This, Ross declared, was atheism, because it set natural law apart from and

3 Typescript copies of the Minutes of the South Alabama Presbytery, Millenium Hope Church, Sept. 24, 1835, the Tuscaloosa Presbytery, Hebron Church, Oct. 1, 1835, and the North Alabama Presbytery, Tuscumbia, Apr. 7, 1836, as well as all other Presbytery and Session minutes mentioned in this paper, are owned by and used with the kind permission of Prof. James B. Sellers, University, Ala.
4 Posey, 73ff.

above God. Ross was in accord with a second opinion which stated that nothing was right or wrong within itself, but that God with his supreme power had willed certain things to be wrong. For example: Adam's eating of the forbidden fruit of the tree was not in itself wrong. The wrong was done in eating that particular fruit which had been forbidden by God. This was a sin. Again, the Ten Commandments were rules laid down by God, transgression of which would be sin. In its broader scope sin was thus defined as any transgression of the revealed will of God. Ross continued his theological analysis by stating that nowhere in the Holy Scriptures was found anything that forbade slavery. On the contrary, there were certain passages in the Old Testament, particularly in Exodus and Leviticus, as well as in additional passages from the New Testament, which "commanded" slavery. He concluded that, since no law forbidding slavery was stated in the Bible and since sin was a transgression of the law of God, then slavery in itself could not be sin. The real sinfulness of slavery came about when either the master or the slave violated the rules laid down in the Bible concerning the proper relations of masters and servants.[5]

These abstractions alone were not sufficient to express the strong feeling which grew in former slaveholder Ross. Having, himself, owned slaves for a number of years, he was aware of the practical problems of a restive slave population. In the decades of the 1830's and 1840's he had seen the unsettling effect on the institution of slavery by abolitionist propaganda. He was also well aware of the chaotic conditions existing in certain parts of the British Empire where recently the slaves had been freed all at one time. Ross felt that the continued irresponsible onslaughts of the abolitionists, if not checked, would lead the South into a chaotic situation similar to that existing in those unhappy parts of the British Empire.

[5] *Slavery Ordained of God* (Philadelphia, 1859), 33ff.

Along with his fellow-Presbyterians, Ross's ire continued to rise until by 1856 it had reached a state approaching white heat. In that year a letter of his to a Northern Presbyterian, in which he defended the position of the South on the institution of slavery, was published. The letter was cast in language which could be readily understood by all those who read it, and ran in part thus:

Ye men of Boston, New York, London, Paris,—ye hypocrites,—ye brand me as a pirate, a kidnapper, a murderer, a demon, fit only for hell, and yet ye buy my blood-stained cotton. O ye hypocrites.—ye Boston hypocrites. why don't ye throw the cotton in the sea, as your fathers did the tea? Ye Boston hypocrites. ye say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the slave-trade. Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves that ye are the children of them who, in fact, kidnapped and bought in blood, and sold the slave in America. for now, ye hypocrites, ye buy the blood-stained cotton in quantity so immense, that ye have run up the price of slaves to be more than a thousand dollars,—the average of old and young. O ye hypocrites. ye denounce slavery; then ye bid it live, and not die,—in that ye buy sugar, rice, tobacco, and, above all, cotton. Ye hypocrites. ye abuse the devil, and then fall down and worship him.—ye hypocrites,—ye New England hypocrites,—ye Old England hypocrites,—ye French hypocrites,—ye Uncle Tom's Cabin hypocrites,—ye Beecher hypocrites,—ye Rhode Island Consociation hypocrites. Oh, your holy twaddle stinks in the nostrils of God, and he commands me to lash you with my scorn, and his scorn, so long as ye gabble about the sin of slavery, and then bow down to me, and buy and spin cotton, and thus work for me as truly as my slaves. O ye fools and blind, fill ye up the measure of your folly, and blindness, and shame. And this ye are doing. Ye have, like the French infidels, made reason your goddess, and are exalting her above the Bible; and, in your unitarianism and neology and all modes of infidelity, ye are rejecting and crucifying the Son of God.[6]

While uttering this fierce denunciation of his Northern brethren's attitude toward slavery, Ross still favored a policy of gradual and complete emancipation. His antipathy was

[6] *Ibid.*, 76-77.

not aimed at the unfortunate slave, but at the Northern visionary who meddled in a problem about which he had very little practical knowledge.

Possibly, the most revealing illustration of the Alabama Presbyterian's attitude toward his slave is to be found in the story of Sunday schools and missions for slaves. The rise of this Christian education was not due so much to the pressure of abolitionist propaganda, as it was to a sincere desire on the part of the master to raise the moral standards of the slave. That the Presbyterian people had a genuine interest in the slave as a being with a soul, as well as a being with the mental capacity for learning, is shown by the suggestion of no less than six catechisms to be used in teaching him. Two of these were the "Shorter Catechism" and the "Child's Catechism," which have long been and are still being used by all Presbyterians. The other four were written expressly for the instruction of the Negro. Two of those were by Smylie. A third was written in 1834 by a Presbyterian minister's wife, Mrs. Horace S. Pratt, of Tuscaloosa; and a fourth by the Reverend Charles C. Jones, of Georgia. This last was perhaps the catechism most widely used with slaves in Alabama.[7] It contains five parts, as follows:

Part 1. Of God. What God is. His attributes. Persons in the Godhead.

Part 2. Of Angels. Of the good angels. Of the evil angels.

Part 3. Of Man. Creation, primitive state. His first sin, consequences. Way of salvation, sanctification, death, resurrection, judgment, heaven, hell.

Part 4. Of the Law of God. The Ten Commandments. Relative duties.

Part 5. Of the Church. Nature and design. Of church officers. Of the Sacraments. Of Excommunication.

The Presbytery of Tuscumbia, at a meeting in Courtland,

[7] James B. Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama* (University, Ala., 1950), 312-313.

April 3, 1856, received and adopted the missionary report of Reverend F. C. Morris as follows:

Your Missionary preaches to the colored people in Moulton at 3 O'Clock in the evening on his regular sabbaths at that place. At Union Springs, he does not preach to them separately, inasmuch as one part of the house is assigned to them; but there is a catechetical class at this place which receives oral instruction from Dr. Jone's' [*sic*] Catechism: also a similar class at Mountain Home.

It was, of course, illegal after 1832 in the State of Alabama to teach a slave to read. In many cases this law was forgotten by Alabama Presbyterians. Officially, however, the Presbyteries adopted rules for oral instruction of the Negro. As early as 1834 the South Alabama Presbytery, meeting September 25 in Union Church, Monroe County, decided that, in order to discharge its responsibility to the Negro in this life and that to come, it should adopt the following rules for oral instruction:

Resolved that it be earnestly enjoined on all who are under the care of our church to exercise a sound discretion in the use of the following methods of instruction.

1st To procure their attendance on the preaching of the word and the public ordinances of our holy Religion.

2nd To assemble them and their families to hear the scriptures read with practical explanations suited to their capacities.

3rd To organize classes when convenient to comprise several families for more extended oral instruction and especially that concerted efforts be made to provide the means of employing missionaries to give oral religious instruction to the colored population on the plantations or else [*sic*] with the permission of their masters or owners.

Resolved that it be the duty of the members of this Presbytery to read the above report to their churches.

There are evidences in all the Presbyteries of Alabama that this three-fold plan of instruction was used.

Another example of the teaching of slaves is to be found in the case of Dr. Reuben Searcy of Tuscaloosa, whose class grew so large that it had to be moved to the lecture room of the

First Presbyterian Church of that city. This class continued throughout the Civil War.[8]

The most common way of preaching to the slaves was by setting aside a part of the church for them at regular church services. In some churches, such as the ones at Valley Creek and Pleasant Ridge, galleries were built expressly for Negro communicants. In many churches it was felt that the Negro was not quite capable of understanding the regular sermon. In such cases a special meeting was held, generally on Sunday afternoon, at which time the minister or one of the elders held services for them.

Probably, the best-known of the laymen working among the Negroes in South Alabama was Elder James Sanford of the Second Church, Mobile. In 1855 the South Alabama Presbytery commended Sanford for his excellent work in teaching and catechising the Negroes of Mobile and asked him to continue his efforts. The ministers and other elders of that city were enjoined to help him in every way possible. As an illustration of the individual church's work, the Pisgah and Valley Creek churches of South Alabama had held revivals in 1858 for their Negro members. As well as having a saving effect on the Negro, the meetings in question had collected $48.00 to help in sending missionaries back to Africa. There are records extant which show that this same type of revival occurred in all the other Presbyteries of the state.[9]

Considering the amount of organization, preaching, teaching and missionary work that was done for the Negro, one might ask how, then, did the Negro actually become a member of a Presbyterian Church? It is significant that no record has been found of the Presbyterian Church's either excluding

8 *Ibid.*, 309.

9 Minutes of South Alabama Presbytery, Center Ridge, 1858; Minutes of Tuscaloosa Presbytery, Bethsalem Church, Oct. 5, 1848, and North Alabama Presbytery, Florence, Oct. 15, 1844.

a person from membership simply because he was a Negro or requiring more from him in the field of church knowledge than was required of a white person. In answer to the Centerville Church, the Tuscaloosa Presbytery stated, April 6, 1943, that no specific system was practical for the Negro applicant for membership, but that he should be "instructed in the fundamental doctrines of grace."

Many cases appear in the Session minutes proving that Negroes were examined along with whites. In such instances some of the candidates, either black or white, were accepted and others, again either black or white, were required to do more study. Negroes were frequently admitted in families and their names are often found in these minute books, listed in alphabetical order with the whites. Most of the time Negro catechumens were sponsored by their masters. Members who were received on profession of faith were always baptized.

The Alabama Presbyterian Church also received and dismissed Negroes by letter as well as on profession of faith. Cases are recorded where Negroes were received from other Protestant denominations by letter, such as at Eutaw in 1855, where Parthenia was received into membership on a certificate of good standing in the Methodist Church.[10]

As to Negro Presbyterian preachers in Alabama, they were something of a rarity. However, the case of Harrison W. Ellis, a Negro slave, has some points of interest. Sometime in the late 1830's Ellis came to the plantation of Robert Creswell in South Alabama from Virginia. He was a blacksmith by trade. From all evidences he was an intelligent, industrious, sincere, and ambitious man. He could read well and had some knowledge of languages and Presbyterian theology. The synods of Mississippi and Alabama voted to purchase Ellis, his wife, and two children for the sum of $2,500, educate and ordain him

10 Minutes of Eutaw Church Session, May 8, 1855.

as a Presbyterian minister, and send him to Liberia as a missionary.[11]

After several years of rigorous study Ellis applied for ordination as a minister. His examination was as follows:

Rev. C. A. Stillman stated to Presbytery that Harrison W. Ellis—a coloured man who recently had been purchased by the Synods of Alabama and Mississippi—to be sent as a missionary to Africa—was present and would apply to Presbytery for license to preach the gospel —whereupon it was resolved that it be the order of the day for Monday Morning at 9 O'Clock [*sic*] to attend to this matter.

Presbytery met, and proceeded to the examination of Harrison Ellis. The candidate first gave a brief narrative of his life and studies. He was then examined on experimental religion and his views for seeking the ministry. Rev. W. Flinn and Rev. J. Somerville were added to the Committee on Languages. The candidate was then examined on the Latin and Greek languages. On stating that he had read "Olmsted's Natural Philosophy [*sic*]," "Wayland's Moral, Science," "Porter's Homoletics [*sic*]" and "Ernésti on Interpretation," it was resolved to pass over these points without further examination. He was then examined on Natural and Revealed religion, Ecclesiastical History, and Church Government—and his whole examination unanimously sustained. The candidate then read a sermon on John X:28, 29 which also was unanimously sustained.[12]

After his ordination Ellis was sent to Liberia. For several years his work seemed to be progressing in a very satisfactory manner. But in 1853 rumors of his misconduct and loose living reached his sponsors. Later in the same year he was tried on four counts, including two concerning adultery, one of misconduct and fighting in public, and another of obscene language and fighting in public. In a long trial at Eutaw he was found guilty of obscene language and fighting in public and acquitted on the other charges. His sentence was a suspension which was to be in force until he could show proof of repentance.[13]

11 Minutes of Synod of Alabama, Wetumpka, Oct. 22, 1846.

12 Minutes of Tuscaloosa Presbytery, Bethel Church, Sept. 24, 1846.

13 Ibid., Ebenezer Church, Feb. 10, 1853 and Bethel Church, Sept. 28, 1854.

One significance of the Ellis story is that it showed the sincere intent of Alabama Presbyterians to lift the Negro to a higher intellectual and moral standard. Moreover, when one peruses the details of Ellis' trial, one is impressed with the fairness and judicial manner in which it was conducted. Finally, on reappraisal of the curriculum for Ellis' preparation—moral science, natural philosophy, church government, ecclesiastical history, homoletics, Latin, Greek, and the interpretation of natural and revealed religion—one wonders little why he at last turned to the Methodists and Baptists, rather than to the more abstract and contemplative-minded disciples of Calvin and Knox.

In most cases disciplinary action by the Presbyterian Church against the Negro was exercised with the same justice as against the whites. According to one authority, illicit sex relations were responsible for three-fourths of the cases of disciplinary action against the blacks in the Presbyterian Church in the South during this period.[14] One such case in Alabama appeared in the Ebenezer Church in 1840. A slave named Tower was cited and tried on three counts of fornication. He was found guilty and excommunicated from the Church. Four years later he reappeared, claimed repentance and asked for reinstatement. The case was taken to the Presbytery the following year and, after an investigation of Tower's actions, he was found satisfactory and reinstated to full membership.[15]

In 1853 the Tuscaloosa Presbytery, meeting at Oak Grove, September 29, stated as follows:

> The Committee on the narrative of religion presented the following report which was . . adopted . . The coloured people have not been neglected. But our hearts are pained by frequent cases of discipline among this class of our membership; still we have reason to believe that many of them are 'snatched as brands from the burning.' For

14 Posey, 88.
15 Minutes of Ebenezer Church Session, June 23, July 5, 1840; Apr. 25, 1845.

these signs of prosperity we would return our devout thanks to the 'Giver of all good.'

This frequency of discipline was a result of such offenses as drinking, stealing, lying, cheating and other misdemeanors. These offenses were nearly always punished by either a short suspension from privileges or a simple reprimand.

On the question of marriage the Presbyterian Church took a definite stand in favor of the solemnization of vows for slaves. In the first place, the slave who was a member in good standing had every right to expect the solemnization of his marriage, just as anybody else. In the second place, as stated by the South Alabama Presbytery at Valley Creek on April 7, 1842, the Negro was a "responsible moral agent" and, so long as his owners did not object, was entitled to a Christian marriage. In general, most slaveowners' preference for a healthy marriage relationship for slaves was based on both moral and sound business grounds.

Although statistics are incomplete, it is reasonable to conclude that not more than 2 per cent of the slave population of Alabama received the benefit of Presbyterian intellectualism and humanitarianism.[16] If there is any significance to the study of so small a segment of the population, it must be found in the attitude and the actual practices of the Alabama Presbyterian and his slave, and not in the numbers involved. As has been indicated, his attitude was one of the defense—the word *defense* is important—of a venerable social institution, while a search was being made for solutions to the unhappy problems which the institution created. Never was it denied by the records that a slave was a human being with a soul capable of ultimate salvation. On the contrary, the Pres-

[16] J. D. B. de Bow, *A Statistical View of the United States . . .* (Washington, 1854), 83, states that in 1850 there were 342,844 slaves in Alabama. From the best available, but incomplete, statistics there were slightly over one thousand Presbyterian slaves in Alabama in that year. It appears very unlikely that, if complete statistics could be had, there would be over 2 per cent Presbyterian slaves in the state.

byterian Church sought by its practices to do all it could to minister to the moral and religious needs of the Negro communicant, just as it did for the white. Thus, to the Alabama Presbyterian the slave as an individual was not merely a piece of property, such as he was before the law. He was, rather, an unfortunate child of God for whom his white brother assumed a high degree of moral and religious responsibility. If we may project an attitude from so small a segment of the white population, and consider the Alabama Presbyterian as being typical of the ante-bellum Southern churchman, it might well follow that his slave was the recipient from his church-going master of much that was sincere, kind, and benevolent.

Notes and Documents

SUMTER COUNTY PLACE-NAMES: A SELECTION

By VIRGINIA ODEN FOSCUE

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The following dictionary of names of communities and settlements, both inhabited and abandoned, in Sumter County, Alabama, has been abstracted from Miss Virginia Foscue's exhaustive study of Sumter County place-names submitted as an M.A. thesis at the University of Alabama in August, 1959, in the Department of English.*

Following standard methods worked out in Europe and elsewhere in the United States, Miss Foscue compiled a list of all names of natural and artificial features in the county, both current and extinct. Her thesis treats names of settlements, streams, hills, bluffs, bridges, ferries, rural schools and churches, springs, beats, post offices, and other features which commonly appear on maps.

Miss Foscue examined Federal, state, and county documents, maps, books, church records, letters, newspapers, manuscripts, and magazine articles and interviewed many Sumter citizens, recording the spellings, pronunciation (if not obvious), kind of place named, location, origin, and name changes.

Because the complete dictionary lists more than six hundred names, only the names of communities and settlements are included here. The complete thesis, which includes analyses of the names and discussions of the problems as well as the complete dictionary and bibliography, is in the University Library.

Sources of information are cited at the end of each entry and listed in the bibliography.

ALAMUCHEE—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 10, T 16N, R 4W. 1887, Alamuchee (Rand McNally); 1891, Alimuchee (Ala. Geol. Surv.); 1921, Altamitcha; Alamutcha (Owen, II, 1278). Originally an Indian settlement, it was purchased from the Choctaws about 1832 by Maj. Daniel Cameron, a North Carolinian of Scotch descent. Named for Alamuchee Creek. Owen, II, 1278; *O. R.,* 1887-1905.

ALEXANDER—A settlement in S 31, T 17N, R 2W. Named for James M. Alexander, who owned the land in 1840. *Deed Bk.,* D, p. 731; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

ANVIL—An old stage coach stop with an inn and several stores north of present site of York on the old Livingston-Lauderdale (Miss.) Station road. Probably named anvil because of the blacksmith shop. About 1874 after the old Ala.-Miss. R. R. was built, the settlement was moved over on the R. R. and was renamed York Station, probably for another old settlement, New York, which was at that time across Alamuchee Creek. Judge W. E. Dearman.

ARRINGTON—A settlement in S 31, T 18N, R 1E on the old East Tenn., Va., and Ga. R. R. Named for Gen. Joseph Arrington of North Carolina, who obtained the land from the U. S. Government on June 10, 1836. It was also called Arrington's Station. Name was later changed to Floradora and then to Woodford. Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905; *Tract Bk.,* p. 16; C. C. Kamper.

BELL STATION—A settlement in S 3, 4, T 17N, R 4W on the old East Tenn., Va., and Ga. R. R. Named for J. W. Bell and his family. *Deed Bk.,* 18, 1891, p. 350.

BELLAMY—A settlement and P. O. in S 13, T 17N, R 2W. From 1901-1905 the P. O. for E. F. Allison's mill was called Bellamy and was located at Lee Station. It was named for Volney Bellamy, a Northern Civil War veteran working for the Gulley family, who lived near here. Mr. Allison's brother, Charles, suggested that the usual procedure of naming a settlement for the most respected citizen be reversed and that it be named for the least respected. In 1905 the P. O. was moved to the mill site, and the settlement around the mill was then also called Bellamy. *O.R.,* 1901; Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905; Grady Ross.

BELMONT—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 2, T 18N, R 1E. Founded in 1832 by the Rushings, David Blacksher, Joseph Gillespie, Sr., and a Mons. Martiniere, who had been one of the settlers of the Vine and Olive Colony. The name is French and means

'fair mountain'; the settlement is situated on a high elevation from which there is a beautiful view. Bradford, *Map,* 1838; *O.R.,* 1841; Owen, II, 1278; *P.G.,* 1913; S. E. Foscue. According to Dr. F. L. Hester, one of the oldest residents, the name was once spelled Belmonte.

BENNETT (Bennetts Station)—A settlement in S 33, T 18N, R 2W on the old East Tenn., Va., and Ga. R. R. 1878, Bennett (Gen. Land Office). 1882, Bennetts Station (Rand McNally). Named for J. C. Bennett, who owned the land. *Deed Bk.,* Q, p. 198.

BERLIN—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 24, T 17N, R 1W. A name for Moscow from 1849-1873. Origin of name unknown. Colton, *Maps,* 1853 & 1873; *O.R.,* 1849.

BETHEL—A settlement in S 3, T 20N, R 3W, in which Bethel Chapel was first organized. Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

BLACK BLUFF (Ecor Noir, Soktaloosa)—A settlement in S 16, T 16N, R 1W. 1841, Black Bluff *(Voting List).* n. d. Blacksbluff (Dearman, p. 4). Named for bluff. In 1891 renamed Whitfield. Judge W. E. Dearman.

BLUFF PORT—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 26, T 19N, R 1W. 1841, Bluff Port *(O.R.).* 1845, Bluffport (Mitchell). Settled in 1832 by William H. Tolbert, from Davidson Co., Tenn. Name originates from the high bluffs on the Tombigbee on which were built warehouses for river freight. Jenkins, "Bluff Port," pp. 1-2.

BODKA—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 11, T 21N, R 3W. Named for Bodka Creek. One of four principal Choctaw settlements in the county. *O.R.,* 1897; *P.G.,* 1913; Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905.

BOND—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 11, T 18N, R 4W. Named for E. C. Bond, who owned the land. *O.R.,* 1909; *P.G.,* 1914; McLemore, *Map,* 1917.

BOYD—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 17, T 18N, R 3W on the A. T. & N. R. R. 1912, Boyds *(P.G.).* 1914, Boyd *(Map of Boyd).* Named for John Boyd, who came here in 1832 from South Carolina. *P.G.,* 1912-1933; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins; Mrs. B. G. Killingsworth.

BREWERSVILLE—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 21, T 18N, R 1W. Named for Matthew Brewer, who lived here in 1832. Spratt, "Corrections, Additions, etc." to "Livingston," p. 9; *O.R.,* 1849; *So. Miss. & Ala.,* 1863.

BROWNS—A settlement in S 21, T 18N, R 3W on the A. T. & N. R. R. Named for the church. Ala. Ind. Dev. Bd., *Map,* no date; Judge W. E. Dearman.

CARVER'S CROSSING—A settlement in S 18, T 17N, R 3W. Named for Thomas J. Carver, one of the owners of the land on which situated. Now called McConnell. Judge W. E. Dearman.

CENTER—A settlement around the school for which named. Seale, p. 7.

CHARCONE—An abandoned settlement between Gainesville and Warsaw in S 28, T 22N, R 2W. Origin of name unknown. *Marriage Rec.,* W5, 1888, p. 24; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

CHARLES—A settlement in S 33, T 16N, R 3W on the A. T. & N. R. R. Founded about 1912 by R. W. Charles, who came here from Toomsuba, Miss. Also called Charles Spur. *Highway Map,* 1950; J. C. Davidson.

CHESTNUT GROVE—A settlement in S 31, T 17N, R 2W. Named for the church. Judge W. E. Dearman.

CLAY'S STATION—A settlement on the old Ala.-Miss. R. R. in S 22, 27, T 17N, R 4W. Founded by R. A. Clay and later renamed Cuba. Dearman, p. 4; Vaughan, p. 2.

COATOPA—A settlement and P. O. in S 33, T 18N, R 1W on the old East Tenn., Va., and Ga. R. R. It was founded in 1847 and named for the creek. *P.G.,* 1876; Rand McNally, *Map,* 1882; Margaret Larkin.

COBB—A settlement on land owned by John A. Cobb in S 14, T 18N, R 4W. Also known as Cobbs. McLemore, *Map,* 1917; Rand McNally, *Map,* no date; Judge W. E. Dearman.

COKES CHAPEL—A settlement in S 14, T 16N, R 3W. Named for the church. The new settlement which grew up around the church after it was moved in 1912 was named Ward. Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905; Mrs. J. C. Davidson.

COOSADAS—An ancient settlement on Black Bluff. 1772, Coosawdas (Romans, *Map*); 1814, Coosadas (Carey). Named for the group of Alibamo Indians that moved west when the French abandoned Fort Toulouse. Hamilton, p. 281.

CUBA—An inc. town and P. O. in S 22, 27, T 17N, R 4W. Name was changed from Clay's Station to Cuba Station in 1856 because R. A. Clay objected to town's being named for him. At that time he gave right-of-way to the Southern R. R. and suggested that station be given name of a settlement which had existed before 1850 on land some miles s.w. owned by a Sturdivant family. Presumably the old town was named for the Caribbean island. Dearman, p. 4; *O.R.,* 1877; Vaughan, p. 2; Rand McNally, *Map,* 1882.

CURL—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 31, T 18N, R 2W. On the old East Tenn., Va., and Ga. R. R. 1878, Curl's Station *(P.G.);*

1882, Curls Station (Rand McNally, *Map);* 1917, Curls (McLemore); 1950, Curl Station *(Highway Map);* 1957, Curl (Rand McNally, *Com. Atlas*). Named for Willis Curl, merchant and farmer, who was born in Edgecomb Co., N. C., in 1820 and who moved to Sumter Co. in 1852. *Mem. Rec. of Ala.,* pp. 927-928; P.G., 1912.

DERBY—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 15, T 16N, R 2W. Named for Capt. A. J. Derby. *O.R.,* 1895-1897; Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905.

DIAL—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 11, 14, T 19N, R 4W. Named for the large family of Dials who live here. *O.R.,* 1909; *P.G.,* 1913; Rand McNally, *Map,* no date.

DOVE—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 33, T 18N, R 4W. Named for John Dove and his family, who settled here in 1838. *O.R.,* 1883; Ala. Geol. Surv., *Map,* 1894.

DUG HILL—A settlement around church in S 30, T 18N, R 1E.

EATON—First name for Gainesville. Maj. John C. Whitsett opened the first store here and called it Eaton in honor of John H. Eaton, Secretary of War (1829-1831), but after the controversy in President Jackson's cabinet concerning Eaton's marriage to Mrs. Timberlake, he changed the name to that of Gainesville in honor of George S. Gaines, Indian agent. Dillard, p. 5; *D. A. B.,* V, 609-610.

ELLIOTTS—A settlement on land owned by W. M. Elliott in S 20, T 20N, R 3W on the A. T. & N. R. R. Also called Elliotts Crossing. McLemore, *Map,* 1917; Rand McNally, *Map,* ca. 1910; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

EMELLE—A settlement and P. O. in S 5, 8, T 20N, R 3W. About 1910, when the A. T. & N. R. R. was to be laid, the settlement known as Ramsey was moved east about 1½ mi. to land given the R. R. by E. H. Dial, who stipulated that the station be named for his daughters, *Em-* for Emma and *-elle* for Ella. *P.G.,* 1912; *Map of Emelle,* 1912.

EPES—An inc. town and P. O. in S 19, 20, T 20N, R 1W. 1873, Eppes (Colton); 1882, Epes Station (Rand McNally); 1905, Epes (Soil Surv.). Formerly named Jones Bluff, it was renamed for Dr. John W. Epes, from Lunenburg, Va., who gave right-of-way to the A. G. S. R. R. with the provision that the station be named for him. *Mem. Rec. of Ala.,* II, 929; *O.R.,* 1877; Lady Whitely; Robert Upchurch.

FAIROAKS—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 25, T 23N, R 3W. 1905, Fairoaks (Soil Surv.); 1907, Fair Oaks *(O.R.)*. Named for Fairoaks farm. *O.R.*, 1897-1909.

FLORADORA (Floradora Station)—A settlement in S 30, T 18N, R 1E on the old East Tenn., Va., and Ga. R. R. Named by John B. Merriweather for a brand of cotton he grew here about 1906. Previously named Arrington, it was renamed again Woodford. *Marriage Rec.*, W6, 1907, p. 20; Rand McNally, *Map*, no date; Mrs. S. E. Foscue.

FREES—A settlement in S 21, T 17N, R 3W on the A. T. & N. R. R. Named for J. S. Frees, who had a mill here. Ala. Ind. Dev. Bd., *Map*, no date; Judge W. E. Dearman.

FULTON—A settlement northeast of Sumterville in T 2N, R 3W. Named for William Frierson Fulton, a large landowner and founder of Bethel Church. Gen. Land Office, *Map*, 1878; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

GAINESVILLE—An inc. town and P. O. in S 2, 11, T 21N, R 2W on Tombigbee. Land owned in 1828 by a white man John Coleman, who had married a Choctaw girl and who was granted 640 acres by the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. In 1830 he agreed to sell town site to George S. Gaines, Indian agent, for about $1000, but when Moses Lewis offered Coleman about twice as much, Gaines told him to sell to Lewis, who, with John C. Whitsett, laid out the town in 1832 and named it for Gaines. Owen, II, 643; letter from John A. Rogers to Mrs. B. A. Jenkins, Aug. 7, 1930; *Acts*, 1835, p. 116; Bradford, *Map*, 1838; *D. A. B.*, VII, 93-94; *O.R.*, 1835.

GASTON—An abandoned settlement and P. O. in S 19, T 16N, R 2W. Founded in 1835 by Thomas Nelson, a Baptist preacher from N. C. He probably named it for William Gaston of Craven, a leading member of the N. C. Constitutional Convention of 1835 and the one for whom Gaston Co., N. C., the district from which Nelson came, was also named. Battle, pp. 31-32; Seale, p. 4; *O.R.*, 1841; *P.G.*, 1912; La Tourette, *Map*, 1839.

GEIGER—An inc. town and P. O. in S 20, 21, T 22N, R 3W. Founded by State Sen. John A. Pinson, who named it for his wife's family. *O.R.*, 1905; Soil Surv., *Map*, 1905; William E. Gilbert.

GRIFFIN (Griffin Spur)—A settlement on the A. T. & N. R. R. in S 30, T 21N, R 3W. Named for Virgil Griffin, Special Master of the R. R., about 1912. *Deed Bk.* 35, p. 568; Highway *Map*, 1950.

HALL CREEK—A settlement in S 23, T 18N, R 1E. 1892, Hall Creek *(Marriage Rec.,* C4, p. 252); 1900, Hall's Creek Station. *Marriage Rec.,* W5, p. 300. Named for the creek.

HAMNER—An all Negro settlement and P. O. in S 2, 3, T 20N, R 3W. Founded by a free Negro, Tom, who, because of his marriage to an Indian woman, was granted the land by the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Probably named for a person but his identity is unknown. *O.R.,* 1891; *P.G.,* 1953; Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

HAWKINS—A settlement in S 19, T 19N, R 1W. Named for a prominent family in the locality. *Marriage Rec.,* C7, p. 230; Judge W. E. Dearman; Mrs. Will Gould.

HICKORY HILL—A settlement in S 28, T 16N, R 2W. One of the places nominated for county seat in 1833. A descriptive name. Dillard, p. 7.

HIXON—A settlement on land now owned by the Allison Lumber Co. in S 7, T 18N, R 2W on the A. G. S. R. R. Probably named for William Hix, a lumberman. Formerly known as Hook's Crossing. *Deed Bk.,* 27, 1910, p. 112; Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905.

HOBBY—A settlement in S 34, T 18N, R 3W. Named for a family in the locality. Formerly known as New York. Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

HOOK (Hook's Crossing)—A settlement in S 7, T 18N, R 2W on the A. G. S. R. R. Named for Robert Hook and his family. Renamed Hixon about 1904. *Deed Bk.,* F, p. 346; Colton, *Map,* 1878.

INTERCOURSE—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 31, T 17N, R 2W. Because two roads originally intersected in the center of the settlement, intercourse, i.e., inter-communication, could take place between people from four sections of the county. *NED,* s.v. *intercourse,* 1; *O.R.,* 1841; *P.G.,* 1912; *So. Miss. & Ala.,* 1863.

IVY—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 33, T 22N, R 3W. Named for Charles Ivy, who came from Boston. *O.R.,* 1895; *P.G.,* 1915; Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

JAMESTOWN—An inc. town and P. O. in S 28, T 23N, R 2W. 1836, Jamestown *(Voice of Sumter,* Oct., 18); 1838, Jamestown (Bradford). Settled by the Littles and their connections from N. C. Probably named for first permanent English colony. Renamed Warsaw. Owen, II, 1278; *Acts,* 1835, p. 89; *O.R.,* 1841.

JONES—A settlement around Jones Church, which is over a hundred years old. Rand McNally, *Com. Atlas,* 1957; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

JONES BLUFF—An early name for settlement and P. O. now known as

Epes. Already settled by 1832 by Matthew Labrouse, who had an Indian wife, and others. Named for the bluff. Owen, II, 1278; *O.R.,* 1849; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

JONESVILLE—A settlement in S 30, T 21N, R 2W. Named for family who lived in locality. *Marriage Rec.,* C9, p. 621; *P.G.,* 1925-1931.

KINTERBISH—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 29, T 16N, R 3W. 1849, Kinterbish *(O.R.);* 1881, Kinterbish *(O.R.).* Named for the creek. *O.R.,* 1908; Rand McNally, *Map,* 1882.

KNIGHT—A settlement in S 7, T 22N, R 2W. Named for Arthur Knight and his family, who lived in the locality. Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

LACY—A settlement in S 3, T 21N, R 3W. Made in 1832 by Capt. Elisha Lacy, for whom the ford on Bodka Creek was also named. Owen, II, 1278.

LEE—A settlement on the old East Tenn., Va., and Ga. R. R. in S 31, T 18N, R 1W. 1900, Lee Station (*Deed Bk.,* 26, p. 54); 1905, Lee (Soil Surv.). Named for a family who lived near here. Renamed Lilita. S. E. Foscue.

LILITA—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 31, T 18N, R 1W. 1907, Lilita *(O.R.);* n.d., Lillita (Poates). The settlement was originally called Lee Station, and the P. O. for Allison Lumber Co., located here from 1901-1906, was called Bellamy. When Bellamy P. O. was moved to the settlement at the mill, the P. O. at Lee Station was named by C. A. Larkin, the P.M., for his daughter Mrs. Lilita Bizelle. Then the settlement here also became known as Lilita. *P.G.,* 1929; Grady Ross; S. E. Foscue.

LIVINGSTON—The county seat of Sumter Co. and P. O. in S 33, T 19N, R 2W. 1835, Livingston *(O.R.);* 1891, Livingstone *(O.R.).* The site was selected by William Anderson, John C. Whitsett, Charles J. Puckett, Andrew Ramsey, William O. Winston, Edward B. Colgin, and Warham Easley. Laid out and named for Edward Livingston of Louisiana, Secretary of State (1831-1833). Incorporated on January 25, 1867. *Acts,* 1834, p. 132; *Acts,* 1867, p. 215; Bradford, *Map,* 1838; Brewer, p. 533; *D.A.B.,* XI, 309-311.

LOOKSOOKALOO—An abandoned settlement and P. O. in S 17, T 20N, R 3W. Named for the creek. La Tourette, *Map,* 1839.

MILLVILLE—A settlement in S 12, T 18N, R 4W. Named for C. P. Mills, who owned land near here. *Marriage Rec.,* W5, 1899, p. 280; Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905; Judge W. E. Dearman.

MILTON—An abandoned settlement in S 14, T 17N, R 1W. Probably

named for Milton Perryman, one of the earliest settlers of the locality. S. E. Foscue.

Moscow—A settlement on the Tombigbee in S 24, T 17N, R 1W, which was made by Turner Brashears, who was half Indian and half French. If he, as is probable, was a descendant of a settler of the Vine and Olive Colony, he may have named it for Moscow, Russia, the scene of Napoleon's most disastrous failure. *Map of Ala.,* 1835; Mrs. S. E. Foscue.

McCainville—A settlement in S 6, T 19N, R 2W. Named for Adam McCain of South Carolina, who settled here in 1831. Spratt, "Livingston," p. 49; Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905.

McConnell—A settlement in S 18, T 17N, R 3W. Named for Dr. John A. McConnell, from S. C., who settled here in 1839. Also called Carver's Crossing. *Deed Bk.,* 27, p. 393; Judge W. E. Dearman.

McDowell (McDowell Station)—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 19, T 18N, R 2E on the old East Tenn., Va., and Ga. R. R. Settled in 1832 by Alexander McDowell. *Marriage Rec.,* W4, 1871, p. 22; *O.R.,* 1883; *P.G.,* 1943; Ala. Geol. Surv., *Map,* 1891.

New Bethel—A settlement in S 20, T 21N, R 2W. Named for the church. *Marriage Rec.,* C6, 1904, p. 227.

New Port—An abandoned settlement in S 16, 16, 21, 22, T 19N, R 1W. 1838, Newport (Bradford); 1844, New Port (La Tourette). Probably it was given this name because at the time it was settled, it was a new port of the Tombigbee. Ala. Geol. Surv., *Map,* 1894.

New Prospect—A settlement around New Prospect Church in S 30, T 19N, R 1W. Spratt, "Livingston," p. 112.

New York—An abandoned settlement in S 34, T 18N, R 3W. Name is probably reminiscent. Also known as Hobby. Colton, *Maps,* 1853-1873.

Norvell—A settlement in S 18, T 21N, R 3W. Named for Peyton Norvell, who sold the land to the A. T. & N. R. R. in 1910 with the provision that a station be established here. *Deed Bk.,* 27, p. 51.

Noxubee—A settlement on the A. T. & N. R. R. in S 23, T 23N, R 3W. Named for the river. Read, p. 46.

Oak Grove—A settlement around a church in S 10, T 18N, R 4W. *Com. Ct. Min.,* 1837, p. 112.

Oliver—A small community which is part of Panola. Named for W. S. Oliver and his family. Rand McNally, *Com. Atlas,* 1957.

OXFORD—A settlement in S 26, T 19N, R 4W. Named for Oxford, England. *Marriage Rec.,* C6, 1902, p. 2; Judge W. E. Dearman.

PANOLA—A settlement and P. O. in S 23, T 23N, R 3W. Founded in 1909 as a station on the A. T. & N. R. R. from which planters could ship their cotton. Name means 'cotton' from Choctaw *ponola.* Read, p. 51; *Map of Panola,* 1909; *O.R.,* 1911; Mrs. Frank Sparkman.

PARKER—A settlement in S 3, T 19N, R 2W. Named for Capt. James Parker, who settled here before 1832. *Deed Bk.,* 27, 1910, p. 110.

PATTON'S HILL—A settlement in S 13, T 20N, R 3W. Founded before the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek by Clark Crocker, Anthony Phariss, and Joseph B. Jones; the land on which it was situated was bought in 1837 by James W. Patton, who with his brothers, Dr. William Samuel and Arthur Patton, had come here from Mississippi in 1835. Until 1843, when it was incorporated as Sumterville, it was known locally as Patton's Hill. Killingsworth, "Early Settlers," no page; Jenkins, "Sumterville," p. 1; *Acts,* 1843, p. 150.

PAYNEVILLE—An abandoned town and discontinued P. O. in S 13, T 19N, R 4W. 1841. Paynesville *(O.R.);* 1849, Payneville (Morse). Incorporated as Paynesville on Jan. 19, 1839. Named for Ranson L. Payne and his family. *Acts,* 1839, p. 17; *O.R.,* 1849; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins

PENOLA—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 1, T 18N, R 4W. Name probably means 'cotton,' from Choctaw *ponola.* Now abandoned. Colton, *Map,* 1853; DuBose, *Map,* 1870; *O.R.,* 1849; *Voting List,* 1848.

PERSIMMON GROVE—A settlement in S 33, T 16N, R 1W. Founded about 1835. Descriptive name. *Highway Map,* 1950.

PINETOP—A settlement in S 24, T 19N, R 1E. Named for the church.

POSSOM HILL—A settlement near Sumterville. One of the places considered for county seat in 1833. Descriptive name. Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

PROSPECT—A settlement in S 17, T 19N, R 1W. Subjectively descriptive name; a high region with an extensive view. Settled between 1832 and 1835. Spratt, "Livingston," p. 111; E. W. Mellown.

QUILBY—A later Choctaw settlement situated on both sides of Quilby Creek, about 400 yds. above the mouth. Probably founded in early American times. Owen, II, 1162.

RAMSEY (Ramsey Station)—An abandoned settlement and P. O. on

old Gainesville-Narkeeta R. R. in S 7, T 20N, R 3W. 1877, Ramsay *(O.R.);* 1879, Ramsey *(O.R.).* Founded about 1832 by A. K. Ramsey. When the A. T. & N. R. R. was laid, the settlement was moved east about 1½ mi and renamed Emelle. Mrs. B. A. Jenkins; *O.R.,* 1911; Rand McNally, *Map,* 1882.

RICHMOND—An abandoned settlement in S 22, T 16N, R 4W. Existed in 1836. Origin of name unknown. Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

ROMSEY (Ramsey)—A discontinued P. O. in a store owned by G. F. Ramsey in S 4, T 23N, R 3W. Spelled with an *o* rather than with an *a* in order to distinguish it from Ramsey, an already existing P. O. The settlement around the store is still known as Ramsey. *O.R.,* 1887; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

ROSSER—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 34, T 16N, R 4W. Named for Elijah Rosser and his family, who came here in 1831. *O.R.,* 1881; *P.G.,* 1913; Rand McNally, *Map,* 1882; *Voting List,* 1841.

SALEM—A settlement in S 1, T 22N, R 3W. Named for the church. *Marriage Rec.,* C8, 1879, p. 259.

SCRATCHILL—A settlement in S 14, T 17N, R 3W. Also spelled Scratch Hill. Named for clay hill on which it is situated. Hill was so slippery before the road was paved that local residents said that they had to "scratch," i.e., dig in with the nails, to climb it. Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905; Marvin Culpepper.

SEALE—A settlement in S 21, T 19N, R 3W. Named for R. L. and T. F. Seale, owners of the land. Rand McNally, *Map,* no date; McLemore, *Map,* 1917.

SHELBYVILLE—A settlement in S 9, T 16N, R 2W. Named for Mrs. Mary Ann Shelby and her family. Judge W. E. Dearman.

SHERMAN—An abandoned settlement and P. O. in S 11, T. 3N, R 3W. Name was changed from Stonewall to Sherman about 1875. The origin of neither is known. *O.R.,* 1877-1903; Rand McNally, *Map,* 1882; Mrs. Tempie Cameron.

SHORTS—A settlement around the church in S 27, T 16N, R 2W. "Shorts Shorts," *Sumter Co. Journal,* weekly column caption.

SILOAM—A settlement in S 27, T 17N, R 3W. 1878, Siloam (Gen. Land Office); 1905, Silon (Soil Surv.). Named for the church. Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

SLEDGE (Sledge Crossing)—A settlement in S 20, T 20N, R 3W on the A. T. & N. R. R. Named for Simms Sledge, one of the men who killed Billings, the Northern lawyer. *Highway Map,* 1950; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

SOCTUM HILL—A settlement in S 31, T 17N, R 1W situated on a clay hill. From Choctaw *sakti humma* 'red bank'. Spratt, "Livingston," p. 3; *Highway Map,* 1950.

SPARKMAN—A settlement in S 22, T 18N, R 3W on the A. G. S. R. R. Site of an old sawmill. Probably named for the owner of the mill. *Marriage Rec.,* C8, 1918, p. 105; Grady Ross.

STANDARD—A settlement in S 28, T 17N, R 3W on the A. T. & N. R. R. Named for the Standard Cooperage Co., a sawmill company located here. *Marriage Rec.,* W6, 1921, p. 173; E. W. Mellown.

STONEWALL—An abandoned settlement in S 11, T 23N, R 3W. Origin of name unknown. About 1875 the name was changed to Sherman. *Marriage Rec.,* C2, 1874, p. 180; Mrs. Tempie Cameron.

SUMTER—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 12, T 18N, R 3W. Named for Sumter Lumber Co., the predecessor of Allison Lumber Co. Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905; *O.R.,* 1911; E. W. Mellown.

SUMTERVILLE—A settlement and P. O. in S 13, T 20N, R 3W. Founded before 1830 and locally called Patton's Hill after 1835, it was designated as Sumterville on Bradford's map in 1838 and as Sumpterville in the 1841 *O.R.* In 1843 it was incorporated as Sumterville. It was named for the county. Killingsworth, "Early Settlers," no page; Jenkins, "Sumterville," p. 1; *Acts,* 1843, p. 150.

SYDENHAM—An abandoned settlement in S 6, T 16N, R 3 W. Origin of name unknown. *So. Miss. & Ala.,* 1863.

THORNVILLE—A settlement in S 34, T 16N, R 4W. Named for Capt. Jesse B. Thorn, one of early settlers. Judge W. E. Dearman.

TOWNSEND SETTLEMENT—In S 1, T 16N, F 3W. Named for a large Negro family. *Map Bk.,* 4, p. 38; E. W. Mellown.

TRIMBLE—A settlement in S 17, T 21N, R 3W. Named for N. W. Trimble and his family. Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

TROY—An abandoned settlement in S 11, 12, 13, 14, T 16N, R 1W. Named for the ancient city in Asia Minor. *Com. Ct. Min.,* 1837, p. 114; La Tourette, *Map,* 1839; *So. Miss. & Ala.,* 1863.

WALK—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S 21, T 17N, R 2W. Named for W. H. Walker and his family. The last syllable was evidently omitted in order to prevent this P. O.'s being confused with another in Alabama named Walker. *Deed Bk.,* 20, p. 442; *O.R.,* 1895-1907; Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905; Judge W. E. Dearman.

WARD—A settlement and P. O. in S 15, T 16N, R 3W. Named for Dr. H. B. Ward, a prominent physician who was born in Hale Co. and who moved to Cuba, Ala., in 1857. *Mem. Rec. of Ala.,* p. 936; *Map of Ward,* 1910; *P.G.,* 1912; Judge W. E. Dearman.

WARSAW—A settlement and discontinued P. O. in S28, T 23N, R 2W. It was incorporated on Feb. 4, 1840. May have been named for Warsaw, Va., because some of the people in the locality were from there. Originally named Jamestown. *Acts,* 1840, p. 48; *O.R.,* 1849-1909; Woolsey, Walker & Co., *Map,* 1855.

WATSON—A settlement in S 12, T 21N, R 4W. Named for the family who owned the land. Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

WHITFIELD—A settlement and P. O. in S 16, T 16N, R 1W. Named for J. G. Whitfield and his family. Formerly known as Black Bluff. *O.R.,* 1891; Soil Surv., *Map,* 1905; McLemore, *Map,* 1917.

WHITTEN—A settlement in S 9, T 23N, R 3W. 1905, Whiten (Soil Surv.); 1917, Whitten (McLemore). Named for N. D. Whitten, owner of the land. McLemore, *Map,* 1917.

WILLIAMS (Williams Spur)—A settlement in S 17, T 17N, R 3W on the A. T. & N. R. R. Named for W. A. Williams, who had a sawmill here. *Highway Map,* 1950; Judge W. E. Dearman.

WINSTON—A settlement in S 35, 36, T 21N, R 3W on the old Gainesville-Narkeeta R. R. Named for the prominent family who owned the land. Colton, *Map,* 1878; *Marriage Rec.,* C7, p. 138; Mrs. B. A. Jenkins.

WOODFORD—A settlement in S 30, T 18N, R 1E. Named for Woodford Co., Kentucky, the section from which he came, by A. H. George, who obtained the land in 1912. Originally Arrington and then Floradora. *Deed Bk.,* 27, p. 362; C. C. Kamper.

YORK—An inc. town and P. O. in S 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, T 18N, R 3W. 1877, York Station *(O.R.,);* 1882, York (Rand McNally). Settled by Middleton Praytor about 1874. Probably named for an older settlement, New York, across Alamuchee Creek. Mrs. B. A. Jenkins; Mrs. B. G. Killingsworth.

ZION HILL—A settlement around Methodist church in S 15, T 18N, R 1W. *Marriage Rec.,* C4, 1892, p. 241.

ZION VALLEY—A settlement around the church in S 23, T 23N, R 3W. *Marriage Rec.,* C7, 1911, p. 85.

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Gould, Mrs. Will, Bluff Port.
Hester, Dr. F. L., Belmont.
Hester, Mrs. F. L., Belmont.
Jenkins, Mrs. B. A., Emelle.
Johnson, Mrs. C. H., Coatopa.
Kamper, C. C., Meridian, Mississippi. Former resident of Woodford.
Killingsworth, Mrs. B. G., Sumterville.
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Miller, Robert, Selma. Visiting preacher to Negro Baptist churches in Sumter County.
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Miss Foscue's thesis was directed by Professor I. Willis Russell, Department of English, University of Alabama.

Book Reviews

Jefferson Davis Confederate President. By Hudson Strode. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959. pp. xvii, 556. $6.75.

This is a Jeff Davis substantially different from the cold, aloof figure portrayed by earlier biographers. The new Davis interpretation stems from sources old and new, gleaned in extensive travel and full-time research for several years. The prose is masterful and sympathetic. The biography therefore should claim the attention of those interested in skillful writing as well as those with curiosity whetted by the career of the chief of the Lost Cause. Davis, as the top loser in America's deadliest war, emerges as a figure of heroic stature. Yet his faults are not neglected—occasional impatience, tactlessness, and lack of political resilience.

That the Mexican War made Davis a hero of national acclaim and that his sympathy and moderation won for him friends as enthusiastic in the North as in the South were topics treated in Strode's *Jefferson Davis American Patriot, 1808-1861,* the first volume in the projected trilogy. There was Davis, a warm-hearted friend, husband, and father, a man of high integrity and yet a leader with self-discipline and moderate views.

The volume under review, the second of the trilogy, takes the Confederate leader into the period of his heavier responsibility, from his inauguration as President of the Confederacy under the Provisional Constitution in 1861 through the last portentous events of 1863. There are thirty-nine chapters in all with a chronological sequence such as befits a biography, each chapter with a title distinctive and inviting. Events great and small are dramatically presented as they came to Davis' attention, giving the reader a sense of timing through the mounting crises as the drama moved toward the doom of Southern Independence.

Much of the subject matter could be paraphrased under the headings Davis and his generals, Davis and political leadership, and the character and personal life of Davis. Some of the strongest writing is in sympathetic glimpses into Davis' personal life and the whirl of wartime Montgomery and Richmond. In gay Montgomery during the heedless excitement of the war's starting days, night owls returning

from the theatre see Jefferson Davis at his temporary quarters in the Exchange Hotel, bending his one good eye over the paper work of his sixteen-hour toiling day. So many months and so many battles later the scene is in Richmond. Davis is getting some of his scant relaxation riding horseback through the feverish capital; Davis pauses in the midst of war to worry about his wife, his son, his brother, or the illness of his slaves; Davis makes repeated personal visits to the battlefields near Richmond, sometimes alongside the dead and dying. Here is a moment of high drama, the well-told story of the lost dispatch at Sharpsburg; there is the pitiful imprisonment on Ship Island of Eugenia Phillips; and here the death of gallant John Pelham. Strode's book carries the Confederate President through the Great Year of 1862, and the following year which saw the turning of the tide, and this second volume ends with Davis at the President's reception on New Year's Day, 1864.

The North's great hero of the sixties was Lincoln rather than any general; the South's great hero was Lee rather than any political leader. This simple summary of much historical writing reflects the fact that the greater victories for the North (certainly prior to the summer of 1863) were political rather than military, while the greater victories for the South were military rather than political. Revisionist writers of recent years have pointed out that Lincoln, despite early military mistakes, did learn how to select his generals and how to support them, and that he consequently deserved much credit for the eventual military success of the North. Now Professor Strode in *Jefferson Davis Confederate President* presents a strong claim in Davis' behalf for some of the credit for the many Confederate military successes. It was not by accident, according to Strode's convincing argument, that the Confederacy had the leadership in the proper places that produced the military victories, often over great odds. That Davis should share in the credit for Confederate victories was the opinion of Robert E. Lee. This interpretation is buttressed by Strode's accounts of the battles and generals of the war. Davis' relations with such generals as Lee, Jackson, and Albert Sidney Johnston were friendly indeed. Relations with P. G. T. Beauregard and Joseph F. Johnston were quite the opposite, and much criticism of Davis stemmed from these generals and their friends. Among other Confederates who criticized Davis were Henry Foote, Louis Wigfall, Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, Edward A. Pollard, John M. Daniel, and Robert B. Rhett.

It is through the eyes of Jefferson Davis that Strode views events

from the disorderly victory at First Manassas to the hungry caves at Vicksburg. Of the Confederate generals who march in review before their president, the following supply examples: the fighting bishop, Leonidas Polk; the audacious cavalryman, Jeb Stuart; the champion civilian general, Nathan Bedford Forrest; the tactician, William J. Hardee; the Texas-sized Kentuckian, Gustavus W. Smith; the little-known four-star general, Samuel Cooper; the resourceful Josiah Gorgas; the daring Earl Van Dorn; the hapless John C. Pemberton; the crippled John B. Hood; the fiery Joe Wheeler; and the raider extraordinary, John Hunt Morgan.

No less life-like than those of the generals are the characterizations of selected leaders of the Union Army, the Confederate and Union navies, and assorted political and military leaders of both sides as they moved through the story, some in subdued perspective and many close to the footlights beside the chief actor. Among these were Judah P. Benjamin, Stephen R. Mallory, William L. Yancey, Joe Brown, Zeb Vance, "Bull Run" Russell, R. M. T. Hunter, James M. Mason, John Slidell, James D. Bulloch, Burton N. Harrison, John H. Reagan, George W. Randolph, Rose Greenhow, Elizabeth Meriwether, James Chestnut, Mrs. Chestnut, and those who came and went in the shifting roll of the Confederate administration. Minutiae gleaned from eye-witnesses lend color and life when they are marshalled into their proper places under the prodding of Strode's knowing pen. Those who have read little of America's costliest war will find *Jefferson Davis* easy to read; and those who have read much on America's past will take deeper interest because of this stimulating biography.

There is a selected bibliography for each chapter and a five-page critical essay on bibliography.

CHARLES GRAYSON SUMMERSELL
University of Alabama

The Scarlet Guidon. By Ray Grant Toepfer. New York: Coward-McCann, 1958. 316 pp. $3.95.

They made the guidon themselves from a red silk sash (stolen from a Richmond bawdy house) with the letters B 43 ALA cut from a white silk shirt (which an unwary Virginia officer left on a bush to dry). For four years it led them into battles which for them had begun with a speech at a dusty railroad station in Alabama.

Company B joined Jackson's Valley Campaign with sixty men from Peach Branch, marched with him to Chancellorsville, and, when

Lee withdrew from Gettysburg, of the original company, only three were left. This is the story of the yeoman's fight, of the ordinary foot soldier, often illiterate, frequently undisciplined, and nearly always individualistic, who was the backbone of both the Union and Confederate armies. For them there was no glamor in war; they saw only the dusty or muddy tracks over which they marched, the blasted trees, the scrub undergrowth or outcrop of rock which might offer shelter from the enemy's devastating fire. They knew nothing of the gallantry of Pickett's charge, or the romance of a swashbuckling cavalry. Instead they knew hunger, and cold, and heat, and death.

Mr. Toepfer has ably depicted the life of the average Johnny Reb who had no interest in slavery or states' rights, but who fought long and well because he had his neighbors beside him, and ingrained in him the individual conviction that it was the thing to do. The scarlet guidon was of his own creation, and to it he gave his loyalty, his devotion, his life.

SARA ELIZABETH MASON
University of Alabama

The Decisive Battle of Nashville. By Stanley F. Horn. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956. xiii, 181 pp. $3.00.

This compact volume is further evidence of the growing awareness among historians of the true importance of the western theater in the Civil War. Although it deals with a single battle, the admirably concise Prologue describes briefly the major events of the war in the West prior to November, 1864 and also gives brief sketches of the senior officers of the two armies which were engaged in the Battle of Nashville.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the book is that in which Stanley F. Horn describes the great pressure brought on General George H. Thomas to launch his attack on General John B. Hood's Confederates before the Union Army was ready and while weather conditions made a battle impossible. The fearful Secretary Stanton's alarm is not surprising, and it is understandable that Lincoln should have shared his subordinate's feeling, but Grant's apprehension is less easily explained.

The actual fighting on December 15-16, 1864 is clearly and vividly depicted, and short quotations from the diaries and memoirs of participants add to the feeling of immediacy enjoyed by the reader.

Two excellent maps of the battlefield enhance the clarity of the narrative. The only possible criticism of the photographs is that they are so few.

It would be gratifying to state that the evidence presented supports the author's thesis that Nashville was *the* decisive battle of the Civil War. Certainly any battle which results in the elimination of a major army is decisive, and the Confederate Army of Tennessee was never an effective force after Hood's ill-considered and disastrous attempt to withstand the assault of an immeasurably superior Union army. But Horn bases his argument in large part on what might have happened had Hood's reckless strategy been successful. What if Lee had inflicted a smashing defeat on the Army of the Potomac at Gettysburg, or if the defenses of New Orleans and Vicksburg had been more intelligently conducted? One may hold with equal validity that several battles offering greater chance of success might also have been "decisive."

Moreover, although it is never stated explicitly, the feeling runs throughout the book that Thomas *had* to defeat Hood decisively. Perhaps this was essential for the Union general's career, but one is reminded of Lord Nelson's remark that ". . . by the time the enemy had beat our fleet soundly they would do us no more harm this year." It is difficult to believe that a costly indecisive battle would have left Hood's inferior and poorly equipped army in any condition to invade Kentucky and Ohio. Hood's grand design would seem to have been defeated from the moment that he decided to await the assault of his abler adversary.

Further criticism of so interesting a book may seem unwarranted, but the ommission of bibliography and index is unfortunate.

ROBERT E. JOHNSON
University of Alabama

Negro Militia and Reconstruction. By Otis A. Singletary. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957. xi, 181 pp. $3.75.

During the current craze for Civil War books it is encouraging to have this study of Reconstruction history, a period that probably affected the South more profoundly than the war itself but that has not attracted the attention it deserves from serious students. It is also to the author's credit that he deals primarily with the usually neglected later Reconstruction years, and thereby sheds much light on the

"White Line" movement that overthrew the Republican state regimes.

This scholarly monograph is a compact but thorough examination and evaluation of the state militias that consisted largely of Negro troops and were utilized in a number of Southern states to uphold Republican governments. Alabama, like Virginia, Georgia, and Florida, did not have such troops, although Governor William H. Smith threatened on occasion to use them. Mr. Singletary describes the organization, arming, activities, and ultimate overthrow of these militias. The question of their use presented a paradox for Southern Republicans. On the one hand, the gradual withdrawal of regular United States forces seemed to require other troops to curb general lawlessness and to thwart the use of force by the political opposition. On the other hand, many Republicans doubted the soundness of increasing racial tensions by arming bodies of Negroes. In the final analysis the author concludes that these militias were militarily ineffective and actually hastened the downfall of the Reconstruction regimes in provoking the use of counter force by Conservatives.

The author follows neither the Dunning nor the revisionist school of Reconstruction historians, and his objective approach could well serve as a model for similar studies. He effectively disproves the popular notion that these militia companies were guilty of frequent and serious crimes, but he shows that lax discipline, inadequate supplies, and inefficient leadership generally characterized their organization. Most of the Negroes were far more interested in social prestige and glamorous uniforms than in actual fighting. The three chapters that deal, respectively, with militia activities in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi throw much light on the constantly shifting alignments that were far more characteristic of the Reconstruction period than the generally accepted notion of two clearly defined groups, Radicals and Conservatives.

The monograph is thoroughly documented, with the footnotes conveniently located on each page instead of grouped in the back. This documentation and thirteen-page bibliography attest to the wide variety of both primary and secondary materials consulted. The author varies his basically scholarly style with numerous appropriate quotations and interesting sidelights. The book itself is beautifully designed, clearly printed, and contains some illustrations and a useful index.

ALLEN J. GOING
University of Houston

The Clays of Alabama: A Planter-Lawyer-Politician Family. By Ruth Ketring Nuermberger. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1958. x, 342 pp. Notes, bibliographical note, and index. $7.50.

Dr. Nuermberger's study, based largely upon the Clement Claiborne Clay manuscripts in the Duke University Library, is the history of one of Alabama's most distinguished families. Clement Comer Clay, the founder of the Alabama branch of the family, his wife, Susanna Claiborne (Withers), their three sons, Clement Claiborne, John Withers, Hugh Lawson, and Clement Claiborne's wife, Virginia Caroline (Tunstall) are all considered; but the work is focused on the two most prominent members, Clement Comer and Clement Claiborne. The narrative begins with the elder Clay's arrival in Huntsville in 1811 and ends with Virginia's death in 1915.

The father and son were both lawyers, planters, politicians, and public figures of national importance. Both were ardent states rights Democrats, and both engaged in bitter party battles and at times suffered political defeats.

During the period from 1817 to 1841 Clement Comer Clay was a member of the territorial legislature, chairman of the committee which drew up the Alabama Constitution of 1819, chief justice, governor, and both a United States congressman and senator. Because of financial difficulties, he resigned his seat in the Senate in 1841. He did not again seek public office, but for almost twenty years longer he "wielded an enduring influence in Alabama politics."

The year after his father resigned from the Senate Clement Claiborne entered politics. During the period from 1842 to 1865 he served as a member of the Alabama legislature, the United States and Confederate senates and as Confederate commissioner to Canada. In Canada Clay attempted to promote the Confederate cause through conspiracies, peace plots, and raids. The raid against St. Albans, Vermont, which he personally directed, was the most notable of the activities. After the war he was charged with complicity in Lincoln's assassination and placed, along with Jefferson Davis, in Fortress Monroe. Upon his release in 1866 he returned to Huntsville. But this aristocrat of the Old South, accustomed to living "the good life," was never able to adjust himself to the harsh realities of Reconstruction; and after a valiant struggle with debts and ill health, he died of pneumonia in 1882 with his estate insolvent.

The younger Clay was greatly aided in his career by Virginia, his

socially prominent and energetic wife, who also did much to perpetuate the Clay name by publishing in 1904 her memoirs, *A Belle of the Fifties.*

Although it contains a few trivial errors and, in this reviewer's opinion, slightly too many details on the dramatic and romantic aspects of Clement Claiborne's and Virginia's careers, the work meets most of the standards of literary biography and scholarly history. For the author succeeds in the difficult task of making the characters "come alive again" and she does it by the skillful employment of "a multitudinous number of sources."

Robert Partin
Alabama Polytechnic Institute

Wishes Are Horses. By Fanny Marks Seibels. New York: Exposition Press, 1958. 251 pp. $4.50.

Though Fanny Lockett Marks left Montgomery, Alabama in 1900, aged 16, to study violin in New York, later in Chicago, Berlin, and London, she "never traveled beyond the radius of friends and relatives." This autobiography is the account of the years she spent in this magic circle before returning home in 1912 to marry the patient Robert Emmet Seibels, to whom she had been engaged for six years. In the years that followed she bore two sons, gave concerts, conducted the orchestra at Montgomery's Sidney Lanier High School, and became a beloved teacher of music.

Written in the style of the novels of the 'nineties: "But I have not told you about myself. I was the most Southern of Southerners. I was different from Northern girls, and my friends adored my 'Southern clothes' which Mamma made . . ." and for the most part concerned with trivia: "And guess what happened! Oley Speaks, who sang on the same program, rubbed my hands to get them warm before I played. Oley Speaks, who wrote *Morning, Sylvia,* and *The Road to Mandalay! . . .*," the book has interest for social historians who want to know one aspect of life in a Southern town at the turn of the century, when proper young ladies at 16 put up their hair, received callers, and went buggy riding with beaux.

Bethel Fite
University of Alabama

News and Notices

The Board of the Regents of the Alabama Museum of Natural History held its thirty-fifth annual meeting at the University of Alabama, October 28, 1959. According to Dr. Walter B. Jones, state geologist, one of the most important sites yet to be excavated is Coosatown, capital of the Creek Confederation, in an area which is likely soon to be inundated by the Alabama Power Company. At this meeting the late Dr. Stewart J. Lloyd, former professor and dean at the University and assistant state geologist, was praised for his work on behalf of the museum.

* * *

The Salem-Troy Baptist Association, in collaboration with the Alabama Historical Association, on October 18, 1959 erected an historical marker, commemorating 135 years of Baptist work in Pike County. The Salem Church, originated in 1824 and first a log structure, occupied four wooden buildings before the present brick structure was erected in 1939.

* * *

On October 25, 1959 the Greensboro Marker Commission, in collaboration with the Alabama Historical Association, dedicated a marker to the Greensboro (Ala.) Presbyterian Church, organized in 1823. The present building, which replaced an 1841 structure, was erected in 1859 during the pastorate of Rev. J. C. Mitchell.

* * *

Confederate War Poems, selected and edited by Judge Walter B. Jones, of Montgomery, was published in October. The handsome little volume contains upwards of eighty pages and is bound in heavy gray paper. Among the poems included are "All Quiet Along the Potomac Tonight," "The Bonnie Blue Flag," "Little Giffen of Tennessee," and many others equally familiar to devotees of Confederate literature. Copies may be obtained ($1.25) from Duke of Huntly Press, P. O. Box 708, Montgomery, Ala.

* * *

An illustrated booklet entitled "The Gorgas House" has been issued by the Gorgas Memorial Board. Copies may be obtained (25c) from J. Rufus Bealle, P. O. Box 1554, University.

Three hundred and fifty-one members and friends of the Alabama Historical Association toured Gainesville, Saturday, October 24, visiting ante-bellum homes and historical points. Included were the Lewis home, the John A. Rogers home, the Mayor Barnes A. Rogers home, the General Nathan Bedford Forrest marker, the Confederate hospital site, the old bank site, and the site of the American Hotel.

Prior to the visits Thad Holt, Birmingham, presented a recording entitled "You Were There," describing early days of Gainesville.

Rucker Agee, Birmingham, told the group of the significance of the Forrest marker. It was in Gainesville that the General dismissed his famous cavalrymen after the surrender. The program, which was planned by Mrs. O. K. Murray and Mayor Barnes, was held in the Presbyterian Church with John A. Rogers, III, welcoming the group. Invocation was given by William B. Todd, Birmingham.

* * *

The Alabama Library Association's 1960 annual convention will be held in Mobile, April 7-9. The Alabama Historical Association's annual meeting is scheduled for April 22-23 in Selma, with Jack Nelms as chairman of general arrangements.

* * *

On October 6, at seven o'clock, the first 30-minute program in a series sponsored by the Alabama Historical Association was presented over the Alabama Educational Television network, channels 2, 7 and 10. The series, known as "Historical Alabama," will be presented each Tuesday at the same time. William H. Brantley, Jr., Birmingham, chairman, and Mrs. Margaret Pace Farmer conducted the first program, "Civilized Indian Tribes in Alabama." Miss Evelyn Walker of Birmingham is director of the programs and Mrs. Robert Temple, representing the American Association of University Women, is host.

* * *

The Blount County Historical Society was organized by thirty-eight charter members in Oneonta, Alabama on November 1, 1959. W. F. Maynor served as presiding officer and the following officers were elected to serve one year terms: L. P. Waid, president; Mrs. V. E. Whitehead, vice president; Mrs. Fred Hicks, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. C. Y. Linder, corresponding secretary; Mrs. A. T. Pruett, keeper of records; Miss Amilea Porter, chairman of research in county schools; and Mrs. Elinor Watson, chairman of research in Oneonta schools. These officers and the following make up the Executive Committee;

W. F. Maynor, J. B. Faulkner, T. L. Gallman, and Mrs. E. N. Vandegrift.

Mrs. A. T. Pruett described the preliminary work of a local Planning Committee under the sponsorship of the Oneonta Public Library and Mrs. Margaret Pace Farmer and James F. Sulzby, Jr., president and secretary, respectively, of the Alabama Historical Association, brought greetings and congratulations from the state organization.

Congressman Carl Elliott, editor of *Annals of Northwest Alabama,* addressed the group, suggesting the importance of local historical research and scholarship.

Charter members of the society are Troy Allred, Mrs. Troy Allred, Mrs. H. G. Armstrong, Albert L. Branscomb, Mrs. Albert Branscomb, C. G. Bynum, Mrs. C. G. Bynum, J. Porter Bynum, Mrs. Margie Cain, Mrs. S. K. Daily, Carl Elliott, Thurman H. Estes, Mrs. Thurman H. Estes, J. B. Faulkner, Miss Grace Fendley, T. L. Gallman, H. H. Garner, Mrs. Quinton Graves, Mrs. C. B. Harvey, Fred E. Hicks, Mrs. Fred E. Hicks, C. Y. Linder, Mrs. C. Y. Linder, Mrs. E. W. Maynor, W. F. Maynor, Mrs. Earl Moody, Mrs. P. A. Nash, Miss Amilea Porter, Mrs. A. T. Pruett, Hugh Shuff, Mrs. Hugh Shuff, James F. Sulzby, Jr., Mrs. W. R. Sutton, E. N. Vandegrift, Mrs. E. N. Vandegrift, L. P. Waid, Mrs. Elinor Robinette Watson, and Mrs. Ed Whited.

* * *

James D. Bulloch's *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe* (Liverpool, 1883), one of the most historically valuable books to come out of the War Between the States, has recently been reissued by Thomas Yoseloff, *Publisher,* 11 East 36 Street, New York City. The new edition, edited with an introduction by Philip Van Doren Stern, is illustrated with contemporary prints and sketches and has the vast advantage of a chronology, a chart of naval histories, notes, and an index—none of which was included in the original printing. The two volumes sell for $15.00.

* * *

NEW MEMBERS OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION SINCE SEPTEMBER 1, 1959

William Franklin Adams, 321 Caplewood Terrace, Tuscaloosa

Rene Armand, 826 Chestnut St., Gadsden

Hugh Barber, 2615 Aberdeen Rd., Birmingham

Mrs. Hugh Barber, 2615 Aberdeen Rd., Birmingham

Mrs. Ruby R. Bryan, 205 E. Stewart Ave., Opp

William W. Burch, 32 Courseview Rd., Bronxville, N. Y.

John L. Carter, Woodlawn High School, Birmingham

Charles L. Clemons, Jr., 115 S. McDonough St., Montgomery

James E. Coleman, 723 Rose Circle, Bainbridge, Ga.

Mrs. Julia A. Compton, Rt. 1, Box 103, Demopolis

Mrs. Marjorie C. Copeland, 600 N. 18th St., Birmingham

Mrs. Frances Selden Dale, Greensboro

Mrs. Leslie Dee, Jr., 50 The Downs, Tuscaloosa

Mrs. F. I. Derby, Ward

Mrs. V. H. Downs, 405 S. 5th St., Gadsden

John F. Dyer, 121 S. 61st St., Birmingham

Gordon Lee Evatt, Box 71, Fort Payne

Dr. Gerald P. Falletta, 4308 Mountaindale Rd., Birmingham

M. Bibb Folmar, 1905 Norman Bridge Road, Montgomery

John C. Foster, 1010 West Beach Blvd., Pass Christian, Miss.

William T. Gay, 435 S. McDonough St., Montgomery

Dr. Richard D. Glasgow, 3009 Brookwood Rd., Birmingham

Mrs. Rosa Greene Glenn, Rt. 4, Box 109-A, Talladega

Mrs. Ethel Miller Gormon, 409 St. Charles St., Birmingham

Harold G. Goubil, Box 198, Mobile

Mrs. Pauline Grant, 2939 Lower Wetumpka Rd., Montgomery

Luther B. Groover, Jr., 802 Austin St., Wetumpka

Gustavus Orum Hamner, 706 S. Perry, Montgomery

Louis Harper, 552 Zinnia Lane, Birmingham

Addison Reese Harvey, State Highway Dept., Montgomery

Beasey S. Hendrix, Jr., Box 528, Tuscaloosa

Mrs. John Blue Hill, 1262 Westmoreland Ave., Montgomery

Mrs. Clifford T. Inglis, 1503 Barnett National Bank Bldg., Jacksonville, Fla.

Dwight M. Jackson, Clairmont Springs

Edwin Jordan, 1132 E. Fairview Ave., Montgomery

Mrs. Nelson M. Kendrick, Forest Dr., Tuscaloosa

Jack Brien Key, 181 Prince George St., Annapolis, Md.

Mrs. Mary H. King, 1406 University Ave., Tuscaloosa

James H. Kinzer, Box 440, Demopolis

John Peter Kohn, Jr., 429 Bell Bldg., Montgomery

Miss Mary Virginia Kohn, 1313 Felder St., Montgomery

Mrs. Jennings D. Law, 808 Tuskeena St., Wetumpka

Mrs. Carl Leibold, 2251 Highland Ave., Birmingham

Dr. Wilmot S. Littlejohn, 2629 Aberdeen Rd., Birmingham

O. L. McGhee, 506 Circle Dr., Alexander City

Judge Richard E. McPhearson, Butler

Walter Overbey, Rt. 1, Evergreen

James Dudley Peavey, Fairhope

Howard E. Pill, 2809 N. Colonial Dr., Montgomery

Mrs. Harvey B. Searcy, 1612 Dearing Pl., Tuscaloosa

Hon. Armistead I. Selden, Greensboro

Jack Solomon, Troy State College, Troy

John Glenn Stanley, Greenville

Robert W. Taylor, Rt. 2, Lafayette

Rear Admiral Clark Thorington, U.S.N. (Ret.), 1450 Woodley Rd., Montgomery

Charles Floyd Tillery, West Point, Ga.

G. Sidney Waits, Box 926, Andalusia

Charles Lee Waldrop, Juvenile Court, Bessemer

J. W. Warner, 11 Pinehurst, Tuscaloosa

Judge William Weatherford, Russellville

Mrs. Sam S. Wiesel, 1610 Alaca Pl., Tuscaloosa

Mrs. Carolyn Wiggs, Butler

Mrs. Sidney James Williams, Livingston

Dr. Gerald G. Woodruff, 400 E. 10th St., Anniston

Leonard O. Young, Aintree Park, Wilson Mills Rd., Mayfield Village, Ohio

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Alabama's Civil War Centennial Commission has been appointed by Governor John Patterson. The members are Caldwell Delaney, Mobile; Dr. Austin L. Venable, Montgomery; L. O. Brackeen, Auburn; Catesby ap R. Jones, Selma; Mrs. Ed Estes, Gadsden; Matt Clinton, Tuscaloosa; the Rev. W. S. Thompson, Vernon; William H. Jenkins, Decatur; and Rucker Agee, Birmingham, representing each of the nine congressional districts.

James Sulzby, Jr. and Mrs. Wayne F. Plant, both of Birmingham; Judge Walter B. Jones and Miss Rebie Holt of Montgomery, and Senator E. O. Eddins of Marengo County will represent the state at large.

Nine others, including Governor Patterson, will serve as ex officio members: Lieutenant Governor Albert Boutwell; Speaker of the House Charles Adams; Dr. Peter A. Brannon, director of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History; Dr. Charles G. Summersell, University of Alabama; Professor A. W. Reynolds, Auburn University; Mrs. Margaret Pace Farmer, president of the Alabama Historical Association; Mrs. J. W. Roussell, Mobile, president of the Alabama Chapter, Daughters of the Confederacy; and Ira West, Birmingham, president of the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

Dr. A. B. Moore, former dean of the Graduate School, University of Alabama, has been appointed executive director of the Alabama Centennial Commission.

In Memoriam

Henry Thomas Shanks

February 7, 1896-December 16, 1959